The
# CHRISTIAN CENTURY
*A Journal of Religion*

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## Afterthoughts on the Preaching Mission

By E. Stanley Jones

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By Paul Hutchinson

## President Hutchins' Mistake

*An Editorial*

## Creating an Ecumenical Mind

*An Editorial*

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## In This Issue

E. STANLEY JONES is probably American Protestantism's best known living missionary. Having served as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India for many years, Dr. Jones gained world attention in 1925 with his book, *The Christ of the Indian Road.* After that, in rapid succession, have come *Christ at the Round Table, The Christ of Every Road, The Christ on the Mount, Christ and Human Suffering,* and the much discussed *Christ's Alternative to Communism.* Several years ago Dr. Jones was elected a bishop of his church, but declined the office in order to continue his evangelistic work in India. The present article, mailed from London, has been written while he is on his way back to India after having served for almost a year as leader of the National Preaching Mission under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches. Late in the summer he will begin a six months' campaign in China under the auspices of the National Christian Council of that country. Dr. Jones' address is The Ashram, Lal Bagh, Lucknow, India.

MARGUERITTE HARMON BRO is one of the secretaries of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational and Christian Churches, with headquarters in New York. Her article is made up of extracts from the diary of a recent visit to towns in which steel plants are located.

## Coming

With the next few weeks the discussion begun by Dr. Robert A. Ashworth in The Christian Century for February 10 will be carried forward by Dr. George W. Richards, president of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church and leader in the Federal Council, under the title, "More Baggage for Edinburgh." . . . John Haynes Holmes will discuss the too often forgotten "Christian Refugees from Germany." . . . W. Reginald Wheeler, of the University of Nanking, will give a pen picture of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.


# The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

April 14, 1937

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## Calendar of Coming Events

Apr. 14. No Foreign War Crusade, Emergency Peace Campaign, Boston; Kathleen Norris, Louis P. Benezet, Rev. Jeffrey W. Campbell, speakers.
Apr. 14. North Indiana Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Anderson, Ind.
Apr. 14. Central Pennsylvania Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Altoona, Pa.
Apr. 14. Central West Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Kan.
Apr. 14. St. Johns River Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, St. Petersburg, Fla.
Apr. 14. Wyoming Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Binghamton, Wyo.
Apr. 14-15. South Pacific District Meeting, Northern Baptist women, Phoenix, Ariz.
Apr. 15. Eastern Swedish Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Apr. 15-17. State Young People's Conference, Mankato, Minn.
Apr. 16-18. Sixteenth Annual Methodist Youth Conference, Central Church, Frankford, Philadelphia.
Apr. 18. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, Jr., speaker.
Apr. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, speaker.
Apr. 18-21. Preaching Mission, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.
Apr. 20. Fellowship dinner and annual meeting, Philadelphia Federation of Churches, Philadelphia.
Apr. 20. Annual visitation of the alumni, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.
Apr. 20-22. Columbia River District Meeting, Northern Baptist Women, Seattle, Wash.
Apr. 21. Maine Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Portland, Me.
Apr. 21. Lexington Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Lexington, Ky.
Apr. 21-25. North American Christian Convention, Cadle Tabernacle, Indianapolis, Ind.
Apr. 25. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Congressman Maury Maverick, speaker.
Apr. 26, 27. State Convention of the Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Harrisburg, Pa.
Apr. 26-28. United Christian Advance, Council of Churches, Kansas City, Mo.
Apr. 26-29. State Congregational Conference, Lawrence, Kan.
Apr. 27, 28. Central District meeting Northern Baptist women, Third Baptist Church, St. Louis, Mo.
Apr. 27-29. Rocky Mountain District Meeting, Northern Baptist women, Denver, Col.
Apr. 27-29. Atlantic District Meeting, Northern Baptist women, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 27-29. Christian Retreat for Ministers, Winter Haven, Fla.
Apr. 28-May 2. Evangelical Annual Conference, Elkhart, Ind.
Apr. 28. New Hampshire Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Haverhill, N. H.
Apr. 28-May 2. Baptist State Convention, Tucson, Ariz.
Apr. 29. Northern New York Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, Malone, N. Y.
May 3-5. Interdenominational Missionary Institute, Third Christian Church, Indianapolis, Ind.
May 4, 5. Annual meeting Columbia Baptist Association, Washington, D. C.
May 4-6. Northwestern District Meeting, Northern Baptist women, Duluth, Minn.
May 4-6. Southern California Baptist State Convention, First Baptist Church, Pasadena, Calif.
May 4-6. Montana Baptist State Convention, Hardin, Mont.
May 4-6. Oregon Baptist State Convention, First Baptist Church, Medford, Ore.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

An Undenominational Journal of Religion

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# EDITORIAL

EVERY day indications multiply that the tide has turned in Spain's civil war. Until the first of February the advantage was with the rebels; now it is clearly with the government. Unless large reinforcements are swiftly supplied by the fascist powers, General Franco's rebellion is in danger of falling to pieces. The sensational victory won by the loyalists over Italian troops in the Guadalajara sector has now been followed by other victories near Cordoba and in Cantabria. As this is written there are reports that the advance of government troops in Cordoba may lead to the capture or annihilation of another Italian army. Whether it does or not, it has already secured to the loyalists the important mines (coal, copper, mercury, zinc and iron) of that province. Government successes in Cantabria have psychological importance, since they place Franco's capital, Burgos, in jeopardy, thus emphasizing the fact that the offensive is passing to the republicans. Even more important than these military victories for Madrid are the rumors of disaffection and executions within the rebel ranks. No matter how heavily such rumors may be discounted—and the cautious observer must discount them very heavily—their persistence, together with the fact that they come from Morocco as well as from the parts of Spain held by the rebels, indicates that all is not well within the ranks of the insurgents.

## War Tide Turns In Spain

## Russian Planes Hold Air Domination

FROM a military point of view, by far the most important development in Spain has been the establishment of definite superiority in the air by Russian aviation forces. It was not until April 3 that the Madrid correspondent of the *New York Times,* Herbert L. Matthews, gave the world a full picture of what has happened. When the civil war started in Spain, both Italy and Germany sent planes and flyers. The bulk of the rebel air fighting, however, has been done by Germans, for General Göring persuaded the Berlin general staff that Spain offered a superb opportunity to test the air squadrons on which nazi strategy has relied for a quick victory in a future European war. At the start, the fascist flyers had things all their own way; daylight bombing of Madrid went on day after day. But by the end of November the Russian planes began to come into action. They have proved so overwhelmingly superior that today the government has almost unchallenged control of the air. Junker bombers are shot down faster than they can be built in Germany; since December, Mr. Matthews states, eleven German or Italian planes have been shot down for every two lost by the Russians. The important effect which this change in domination of the air is having on the fighting in Spain is already clear. Greater significance, however, attaches to its effect on general European politics. It was by air that Germany hoped to terrorize England, France and Russia. That terror—like the terror supposed to lurk in Mussolini's "eight million bayonets"—is no longer what it was.

## Think Fast, Mr. Mussolini!

BUT while the grim fate visited upon General Göring's planes and aviators at the hands of the Russians serving in Spain must be giving the Berlin general staff food for reflection, it is Mussolini who has really been put on a spot by recent developments. The history of the past dozen years contains few more ironical episodes than *il duce's* trip to Libya, there to indulge in his most spectacular exhibition of strutting in the spotlight, just at the moment when his schemes were coming such a humiliating cropper in Spain. The dilemma in which the Italian dictator finds himself has no simple solution. Any move that he makes is likely to turn out to be the wrong one. He has signed a non-intervention pledge, after sending sixty thousand men to Spain, apparently in serene confidence that these would prove enough to win for General Franco the victory which Rome had publicly promised him. But apparently the sixty thousand are not enough. What is Mussolini to do now? Send more troops? How many more? Somewhere there is bound to be a limit to the Italian intervention which Premier Blum can induce

the French left-wing parties to permit. And even if more troops are sent, what guarantee is there that they will fight? Rumor insists that a fundamental cause for the recent victories of the Spanish loyalists has been the disinclination of the Italians to risk their lives in a civil war in which the Italian stake is so impalpable. But if more troops are sent, and prove to be equally indisposed to do heavy fighting, how long will the already protesting German army staff let General Göring go on sending planes and aviators? And what will the eventual effect be back home in Italy? Then, in back of it all, there looms the question of Britain. Mussolini has assured Italy that he has not forgotten sanctions; it is equally safe to conjecture that Britain's conservative government has not forgotten Ethiopia, and that it is not indifferent toward the growth of Italian influence in the western Mediterranean. If Mussolini makes the wrong move now—which means any move endangering his prestige as an all-conquering Caesar—how long will it be before the newly armed British, egged on by France, will fall on him like a ton of bricks? Mussolini has been forced to do some fast thinking on several occasions since he came to power fourteen years ago. But never has the need for fast thinking been more pressing than now.

## Roman Catholics Again Ask Public Money in Ohio

THE Roman Catholic campaign for public money for parochial schools has broken out again, as it does annually at about this season, and again in Ohio where it has been most strenuously waged in recent years. Four bills have been introduced in the Ohio senate. Bill number 96 provides for free textbooks in parochial schools; number 97 for free transportation for parochial school pupils; number 140 for an amendment of the general code extending the free textbook provision to "all schools" instead of "public schools"; number 163 for an appropriation of $3,500,000 to be distributed among parents of children attending parochial schools, ten cents a day for elementary school pupils, fifteen for high school pupils. As we have said before, at each recurrence of this issue, it is no emergency or relief measure but is part of a systematic and century-long program for a revolution in the American system of public education. Since the days of Horace Mann, the American public school has been a school supported and directed by the state and completely detached from sectarian control, and no other schools have been maintained or subsidized by taxation. The Roman Catholic theory is that education is a function of the church. In a country not predominantly Catholic it is willing to compromise upon a plan by which the state supports sectarian as well as public schools, permitting the parents to decide which schools their children shall attend (but the church itself deciding for Catholic parents). The present plan differs from the one that was pressed in Ohio two years ago in providing a bonus for parents who send their children to parochial schools instead of giving the money to the schools, and in increasing the appropriation. The leaders of all the larger Protestant denominations in Ohio have issued a statement in opposition to these measures. They ought to be defeated. That will not kill them, for they will be back next year, and the year after. But they ought to be defeated—unless, fully realizing what it is doing, Ohio wants to revolutionize its system of public education.

## Japanese People to Pass On Foreign Policy

DISSOLUTION of the Japanese Diet just after the government's announcement of a new policy toward China came as a surprise. But it need not necessarily be interpreted, as much of the press is interpreting it, as another army plot to swing the nation toward further military adventures on the Asiatic mainland. On the contrary, it is more reasonable to interpret the government's decision to hold another general election on April 30 as a move to gain a popular mandate in support of a less bellicose foreign policy. While it is true that the dissolution blocked passage of certain bills which had been drafted to relieve the debts of the hard-pressed farming population, but did not come until the heavy army and navy budgets had been safely voted, it is by no means certain that this will not prove a handicap to the militarists when the voters go to the polls. At any rate, the Japanese people as a whole now have the best chance they have ever had to register their will on broad questions of national policy. If they rebuke the civilian parties—as the army fascists hope they will—they will put a new power behind the drive to extend Japanese hegemony over eastern Asia. But if they give a clear approval to party government this will amount to a popular mandate in favor of the cabinet's recent conciliatory moves. Whichever way the election goes, it is likely to have a more far-reaching effect on the course of events in the Far East than anything which has happened since the abortive fascist revolt of the Tokyo garrison.

## Plain Facts in the Labor Situation

THE daily press, with too few exceptions, is doing its usual frowzy job in reporting the current industrial tension. To some extent this arises out of the fact that so many dispatches read by a national audience are written by journalists employed on local papers which are peculiarly susceptible to the passions aroused in communities where strikes break out. To some extent it is a result of the temptation to treat all such developments in the sensational terms appropriate to battle. And to some extent it is caused by the fact that the reporter writing of a "spot news" event cannot step back to look at the situation in perspective. But certain facts regarding the state of the national industrial front should be plain. First, and most important, is the fact that the C.I.O. movement is growing at a phenomenal rate. Ever since the victory of the United Automobile Workers in the Flint strike and the agreement of "big steel" to do business with the C.I.O. union

in that industry, workers have been flocking into the industrial union organization. A year ago the auto workers union had about 30,000 members; today it has 300,000 and new plants are being organized every week. The steel union has increased its membership from 150,000 to more than 200,000 since the agreement in that industry was reached. The principal difficulty of C.I.O. leaders is to care for the hosts who are asking for charters. Second in importance is the fact that John L. Lewis is winning his contests with impressive regularity. His easy victory last week in the notoriously hard-boiled soft coal industry is the latest achievement in a record which has cumulative significance. And in the third place, as Mr. Lewis and the C.I.O. gather power, the sit-down technique is becoming of minor importance. The Chrysler sole bargaining agreement was won after the sit-down had been abandoned; there is no intention to resort to the sit-down in organizing oil and textiles—the two basic industries next on the C.I.O. schedule. While Congress and the press work themselves into a lather over the legitimacy of the sit-down method of striking, it is clear that it is the mass organization of workers to deal with the realities of a mass production order, rather than the use of any single technique of strike action, which is putting a new face on the industrial situation.

## A New Crisis In India

ON April 1 the British government proclaimed that India's new constitution had gone into effect. But that proclamation, rather than marking the passing of a new milestone in the liquidation of the period of imperialism in world politics, merely precipitated a new and more dangerous crisis. The British *raj* and Indian nationalism are again locked in conflict—a conflict more perilous to the internal security of the empire than any since Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign. Speaking broadly, the new constitution represents what Britain is ready to offer India as a means of "preparing" that vast and seething subcontinent for full self-rule. The federal and provincial legislatures authorized under the new instrument are to operate with severely curtailed powers, but the British believe that this is the safest method of gradually edging India's people toward genuine control of their own affairs. From the start, however, there have been doubts as to whether Indians would be content with this grant; now it is clear that no form of government which withholds ultimate powers over legislation will satisfy. The recent provincial elections gave the Congress (nationalist) party a clear majority in the legislatures of six provinces, and returned it as the dominant party in three of the five others. Application of the British system required, of course, that the Congress party should organize governments in nine of the eleven provinces. This it refused to do without promises from the British governors that they would not exercise their extraordinary veto powers to destroy legislation enacted by the theoretically "responsible" party where it was "in power." But since this would be to do away with all the "safeguards" which the British had inserted into the constitution, the governors naturally refused to make any such promise. Hence, to make it look as though the constitution is functioning, minority governments have had to be formed. These will be thrown out by the Congress party majority as soon as the legislatures convene. New elections must then be held which, it is reasonable to expect, the Congress party will again sweep. What then? Deadlock.

## Senator Vandenberg Proposes Child Labor Amendment

AMONG the several substitute amendments that have been introduced since the chances for the ratification of the pending child labor amendment approached the vanishing point, Senator Vandenberg's seems by all odds the best and the least vulnerable to such attacks as defeated the present measure in New York and elsewhere. It is, perhaps, mere coincidence that it is virtually identical with the plan suggested in these columns in the issue of March 31, and earlier than that in the *New York Times*. It reduces the age-limit from eighteen years to sixteen, which is perhaps as low as it is wise to extend special protection to minors; eliminates the word "regulate," which was the hook on which much hostile argument was hung by those who feared that it would give Congress power to compel as well as to forbid the labor of children, or perhaps even to determine where they should go to school if "labor" was interpreted to include mental effort; and applies only to "labor for hire" and therefore does not even remotely threaten the right of parents to require cooperation in the performance of household tasks. This meets practically all the objections that were seriously urged against the old amendment which has been before the country for thirteen years and which went down under the fire of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in New York. Senator Vandenberg is quoted as saying that he thinks his amendment could be ratified by thirty-six states in ninety days. We are not so sanguine. Thirty-six states never do anything in ninety days. The proposal that Congress require ratification by conventions and that it specify that these conventions shall be held within ninety days would hasten the states that are favorable, but might sacrifice the support of those that are doubtful. Better give them at least six months.

## Hitler and Ludendorff Forget Old Grudge

A LOVE-FEAST is always a pious and heartening sight, but the renewal of good feeling between Hitler and General Ludendorff, old comrades in the days of the Munich putsch but estranged in recent years, may be portentous. Ludendorff, the kaiser's chief of staff during the war, has the implacable fighting spirit and the intense and militant "Germanism" that make him a fit comrade for Hitler. In recent years he has been deeply engrossed in religion, though not too deeply to write a book called *A World War Threat-*

*ens* and another called *The Totalitarian War,* both of which have had wide circulation. His religious interest takes the direction of an ardent devotion to the "German God" cult, which is not so much a highly Germanized form of Christianity as a revival of Teutonic paganism. One unofficial report of his reconciliation with Hitler has it that *der Führer* requested him to soft-pedal the pagan movement, at least for the present. Whether that is true or not may perhaps best be judged by the fact that five days later Ludendorff published in his magazine a statement that at that interview of reconciliation Hitler had agreed to give official status to his movement, which is explicitly directed against the church and all that it has historically stood for. This reinforcement of the forces against which the church is fighting for its liberty bodes no good. However much or little influence Ludendorff may wield—and it is far from negligible—even more significant is the disclosure of Hitler's attitude. Efforts are made, from time to time, to represent him as seeking ways of compromise with the church so that the faces of both parties may be saved. But the leadership of the nazi youth organization remains frankly pagan, and now an alliance is cemented with this veteran fighter whose military reputation gives a certain popular glamor to his anti-Christian movement.

# Creating an Ecumenical Mind

IT IS no betrayal of confidence to say that the committees bearing the responsibility of preparing for the Oxford Conference on Life and Work are encountering some serious difficulties. The nature and extent of these difficulties furnish no ground for a diminished sense of the importance of the conference or for a lessened hope that it may accomplish significant results. Rather the contrary. They indicate how realistically the live problems of religion in our time are being approached by those who are doing the exploratory and preliminary work in preparation for the conference. It would not be difficult to avoid the tensions that have arisen and that will yet arise by the simple and not unfamiliar method of avoiding all questions that probe deeply into the meaning and function of Christianity and keeping to the beaten path of platitudes and generalities. But the committees, conscious that this is no time to issue unctuous exhortations to "be good and do good," have insisted that the church, if it is to make any progress toward a larger and more effective unity in fellowship and action, must face the questions as to what it is for a Christian to be good and what is the good that the church must do in the modern world. Out of these questions arise issues which may be controversial but which are certainly alive.

One very specific difficulty that has arisen concerns the representation of churches in those countries in which churchmen are not free to discuss on their merits the questions of "the church, the state and society," which constitute the major theme of the conference. It is desired that the conference shall be as nearly ecumenical as possible. But will the German churches be represented? In the present state of ecclesiastical affairs in the reich, it is impossible to say with certainty just what groups are entitled to representation or what authorities have the right to appoint delegates to represent them. Can delegates come from the confessional group, for example? Having come, can they speak their minds freely in regard to the relations of church and state as they are and as they believe they ought to be, and in regard to the nature of a Christian society? And having so spoken, can they go back home without going to concentration camps or worse? Or shall state-appointed delegates be received, committed in advance to defense of a program which reduces the church to the status of a subordinate bureau of the government and makes religion merely an instrument of political policy?

If the German churches are not represented, the conference will by so much fall short of being ecumenical. But if their delegates come neither as free Christians nor as spokesmen for the authentic sentiment of their churches but as mouthpieces for the government or as muzzled representatives who dare neither to contribute nor to listen to a discussion that challenges the mythology of the nazi state, it will fall short of being a conference. Let the German delegates come, if they can come on the same terms as delegates from France and Switzerland and America. They have as good a right as any and they will be most welcome. But let them not come under conditions which will limit discussion by excluding topics that are too delicate or too dangerous for them. This is to be, after all, a *conference.* Only those can advantageously come who can confer—that is to say, can both listen and speak freely on all aspects of the subjects under discussion without suffering or causing embarrassment.

As it now appears, the Christians of Germany can render a more notable service to the common cause by standing for the freedom of the church at home than by going to conferences abroad. In this matter of church and state, Germany is the fighting front. Oxford is a place behind the lines where those still free to form opinions may discuss the issues without restraint in the hope of arriving at a meeting of minds. The minds that assemble may not entirely meet. They certainly will not meet at all points. But from their interchange light will come, if it is a free interchange. If Germans who love religious liberty decide that it would be too hazardous and too little profitable for them to come to Oxford and there assume a freedom of utterance that they do not enjoy at home, let them not fear that the world will judge them cowardly. They have already given proof of their courage by more than words. They are engaged in a fight. At present the rest of the Protestant world cannot help them substantially in their fight. It is doubtful whether they can help it in its conference.

The Roman Catholics would be welcome too, if they would come on the terms suggested. But they will not come. They also are inhibited from conference on the nature of the church and its relation to the state; inhib-

ited not because they have anything to fear from a domineering state, but because they are already committed to an answer to every question that can arise, and because participation in a conference with representatives of "other churches" would imply that there are other churches, and so would compromise the claim that their church is the only church. So, without criticism or argument, we accept their decision as being valid and inevitable from their point of view. This conference is to be as ecumenical as possible, but in the nature of things it can be only for those who can and will confer.

But the difficulty in regard to the representation of churches which are not free to confer is only the beginning of difficulties. As the central theme—"church, state and society"—is analyzed, it breaks into three major questions upon each of which there must be some working consensus if there is to be a substantial body of agreement which will influence the future policies and attitudes of the church: (1) What is man? (2) What is the church? (3) What are society and the state?

An answer to the first of these questions involves the formulation of what, in theological terms, is called the Christian doctrine of man. The exploratory work of various groups of thinkers has developed not less than four fairly distinct views on this subject. Some of the distinctions may not seem to be of great practical consequence, yet their importance in the minds of those who hold them is not to be underestimated. Moreover, while statements about the nature of man in the form of theological doctrines may seem abstract and theoretical, their substance is at the root of the whole matter. For example, to take an extreme case, the difference between the attitude which justifies the coercion of heretics to save their souls and prevent the spread of the infection, and the attitude which would accord to every man the inalienable right to exercise free choice in matters of religion, is not merely a difference in church policies. Back of it lies a radical difference in the doctrine of man. Running through every controversy about the relation of the individual to the religious, political and social institutions in which he is involved, and of these institutions to each other, is the question, What is man? There cannot be agreement upon these pressing practical issues except in so far as there is some sort of consensus upon a Christian doctrine of man.

Then, What is the church? There is not only a sharp antithesis between the Catholic and Protestant answers to this question. Within Protestantism itself there is a wide diversity of answers. Does the church consist of the people who are in it, or of all who were ever in it and ever will be? Or does it have a mystical existence, even a pre-existence, apart from its membership? Does the church contain its members, or do the members constitute the church? Does the church as a mundane institution have inherent rights which the state must recognize in addition to the civil rights of its members to assemble and organize? Does the church have authority? If so, what is the extent of that authority, and what are the organs in which that authority resides and by which it is exercised? Does the authority of the church apply only to its individual members in spiritual things, or to its members in other than spiritual things, or to individuals who are not members, or to the civil government? Even if the church does not have authority over government, does it have an inherent right to operate independently of the government in the spiritual field, and to define the limits of that field? Has the church a right to demand at once support by the state and independence from the state? These are not rhetorical questions. They do not answer themselves. But until they are answered it is impossible to make much progress in adjusting the relations between church and state. And before that is done, a third question must be raised.

This third question is, What is the nature of the total structure, or organism, of which the state is the political aspect, and what is the nature and power of the state itself? Here there are extreme and irreconcilable views: (a) that a totalitarian state has complete right and power to control every function of society, to dominate every organization, to fix the pattern of thought and culture, and to exercise its police power to enforce the conformity of individuals to that pattern; (b) that a totalitarian church has substantially the same right and power, derived directly from God, subject only to the self-imposed limitation that it will permit a subordinate civil administration approved by it to discharge those functions which the church does not care to undertake and to furnish the physical resources with which to make its decisions effective. Antithetical as they are, these two social and political philosophies agree in making their objective a completely integrated society in which individual dissenters and nonconformists shall be suppressed or eliminated.

Neither of these extremes will be represented at the Oxford conference. But occupying the broad area between them there are many shades of opinion which lack the clarity and consistency of the extremes. It is not easy to define a theory of society which will have room in it for church and state and individual, and will satisfactorily delimit the frontiers of their several rights. Yet something of the sort must be attempted if the conference is to find an answer to the basic question that it raises.

The purpose of the Oxford Conference on Life and Work is not the immediate organization of "one big church." Its success or failure is not to be judged by any such criterion. What it aims to do is to promote the formation of an ecumenical mind with reference to the great practical issues with which it deals, and to establish the conciliar method as the technique by which that ecumenical mind reaches and expresses its conclusions. As has been indicated, the degree of authority which the church is entitled to exercise is itself one of the questions for consideration. But to whatever degree the church possesses the right to speak with authority, so much authority it can best exercise by this method. If, on the basis of agreements arrived at after free and fraternal conference among representatives of its many organized groups, the churches can give a united testimony on the great ethical and social issues of our time—if, to that extent and for that purpose,

*the churches* can become *the church*—their common voice will carry farther across the tumult of the world than can the shrill, discordant voices of division, and their common mind will, more nearly than the minds of separate individuals or sects, be the mind of Christ.

# President Hutchins' Mistake

AGAIN we salute the president of the University of Chicago for his courage in making a constructive attack upon the educational system which prevails in the United States. Our hat was the first to come off in editorial comment on his proposal which later appeared in his book, *The Higher Learning in America.* We then said (See "An Educational Surgical Operation," The Christian Century, July 22, 1936) that he had loosened a stone which had for a long time held back a vast body of discontent, and we predicted an avalanche of discussion. This prophecy has come true. Around Mr. Hutchins' head a storm of criticism is raging, in which educators, philosophers, scientists, newspapers and in some degree the clergy, are participating.

The fate of Mr. Hutchins' blueprint of a hypothetical university need not be a matter of grave concern to anyone, as probably it is not to the architect himself. It has value, however, in the fact that it gives both educators and the public a target to shoot at. But it has intrinsic value also. Apart from details, and indeed apart from its central idea, it objectifies the problem. This latter value has, for the most part, been overlooked by the critics.

Few if any commentators have written or spoken with intellectual magnanimity. Instead, much of the discussion has revealed petty prejudices. Mr. Hutchins himself is partly responsible for this reaction. The tone of his writing shows that he himself is, like many of the scientists who criticize him, a typical product of the kind of education which he deplores. But this defect does not excuse older and more seasoned thinkers from the duty to understand Mr. Hutchins' deeper intention. A notable exception must be made of the veteran philosopher, Professor Dewey, who, under provocation of what we think was a rather uncandid evasion by Mr. Hutchins of Mr. Dewey's criticism, replies with patience and consideration, as well as great clarity. (See *The Social Frontier,* March, 1937.)

But even Mr. Dewey, when he originally picked up the gauntlet, failed in what we have just called intellectual magnanimity. He fastened upon Mr. Hutchins' idea that the chief subject matter of a university should be metaphysics. In that, he detected the strong influence of medieval philosophy upon the author's mind. And he sought to join the issue in terms of the philosophy of "fixed and eternal principles" versus the philosophy of empiricism.

If this were the *basic* issue which President Hutchins has raised, his discomfiture would be, in our opinion, complete. That he has indeed raised this issue, there can be no question. He approached the problem of education with a much more adequate knowledge of medieval and classical than of modern philosophy. He knows scholasticism by first hand study, but empiricism he knows, not by deep reflection upon its implications, but chiefly by its fruits in the educational system. He does not stop to ask whether these fruits are the result of profound empiricism or of a superficial and half-baked empiricism. To him, metaphysics is a different *kind* of knowledge from the knowledge that is derived from experience. "It is the highest science, the first science, and as first, universal. . . . The aim of higher education is wisdom. Wisdom is knowledge of principles and causes. Metaphysics deals with the highest principles and causes. Therefore, metaphysics is the highest wisdom." Such argumentation seems to us naive. Standing by itself it would justify the formulation of the "basic" issue in the terms in which Mr. Dewey and other critics have cast it.

Mr. Hutchins further betrays his nonpreparedness to meet modern critical philosophy when he affirms that empirical data, of history and nature, are important in the pursuit of knowledge because "they illustrate or confirm principles, or assist in their development." Further, he defines the kind of research appropriate to universities as "the development, elaboration and refinement of principles" by the collection and use of "empirical materials."

It is not our purpose to enter into this discussion of metaphysics. Indeed, our purpose in writing is to deplore the fact that the discussion has taken the form of a problem in the nature of knowledge. The fact that Mr. Dewey, and those lesser critics of Mr. Hutchins' educational theory who approach it with the smug assumption that it is just another scheme to impose the scholastic ideology upon our educational system, imagine that by demolishing Mr. Hutchins' metaphysics they have finished with his proposal, shows, in our opinion, that they have not grasped the real issue. What Mr. Dewey calls a basic issue is not the basic one. The basic issue is not a metaphysical one; it is not the problem of the nature of knowledge; it does not lie in the antithesis of apriorism versus empiricism. Mr. Hutchins' mode of presenting his plan for reorganizing education does, we have admitted, lend itself to the formulation of this issue, and the lesser critics may be forgiven for not seeing any other. But at the hands of Mr. Dewey, Mr. Hutchins deserves something better. He deserves interpretation, and he deserves sympathetic correction. He deserves to be taken not merely in the literal terms of his presentation, but in terms of the really basic problem which he felt and which prompted him courageously to offer his contribution to its solution. The fact that his solution is presented in the categories of an outmoded and impossible ideology should not blind a magnanimous critic to the positive significance of his contribution.

What is the basic problem Mr. Hutchins confronted? It is the problem of a disintegrative educational system in a cultural order that is disintegrating. That is a situation of which every enlightened educator must be aware. A vicious interaction has been set up between the educational process and the cultural

order in general. Each drags the other down. All our educators will agree that in rescuing society from the evil of this unsalutary interaction philosophers of education have a primary responsibility.

And what is the matter with our educational system? The answer is that it is not producing men and women who are culturally integrated. On the contrary, it is producing men and women whose individualism, whose vocational egoism, whose specialized and insulated information, whose lack of feeling for history and tradition, only add impetus to the disintegrating social process.

What is the remedy for this condition? It can be stated in numerous ways, but the generic answer underlying Mr. Hutchins' prescription of metaphysical first principles is that education must recognize *something* besides the child or student as *given*—a body of stubborn, inescapable, objective reality to which it is the business of education to introduce each new generation for the purpose of making the individual at home in his world. The problem of defining this *given* body of objective reality is a secondary problem, and can only be faced when we are ready to admit that there is such an objective reality.

And what does this mean in contrast with what we are now doing? It means that education must be emancipated from its subserviency to psychology, which is responsible for the subjectivism, the individualism and the disorientation which are the evil consequences of the prevailing pedagogy. Our present system is in theory child-centered. Its *given* element is the child's interest. The ruling maxim of this system is: Find out what the child is interested in and develop that interest. But this procedure, though valuable as an auxiliary technique, is not regulative. It provides no objective reference. It produces disparate individuals, not intelligent members of an organic society. It leads to the idolatry of science, to an obsession with vocation, to irreverence, and it is irrelevant to life. It spells cultural anarchy.

Mr. Hutchins attacks this situation with a vigor which has won praise even from his critics. He demands an education whose regulative center is established somewhere *outside the child.* The child must not be the dictator of his own education; society must determine the kind of education it desires its children to have. Where, then, would Mr. Hutchins establish the regulative center of education? His answer is: In metaphysics—in certain first principles of reason, in an "intellectual tradition" which the educational process is to "restudy, rework and revitalize" "for the purpose of understanding the contemporaneous world."

We believe that Mr. Hutchins' answer is wrong, and that he cannot successfully defend the existence of metaphysical first principles which are non-empirical. But we maintain that the significance of his answer does not lie in its specific prescription but in the fact that he was looking in a certain direction for an answer. He was exploring the objective scene to discover there the *given* substance with which education must deal. He found that substance in metaphysical first principles. But he was in the neighborhood of a better answer. Indeed, his foot stumbled upon it. Its name was theology. His choice seemed to hesitate between metaphysics and theology. The medieval university, he reflected, was unified by theology, and apparently he would have liked to make his unifying principle the same, but "it is not possible" to do so. "We are a faithless generation, and take no stock in revelation. Theology implies orthodoxy and an orthodox church. We have neither. . . . If we cannot appeal to theology we must turn to metaphysics. Without theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist."

It is unfortunate that he did not follow what, apparently, was his clearer insight, and set theology at the center of his hypothetical university. But he saw difficulties in the way. However, the difficulties which inhibited his commitment to a theocentric education are not avoided by an education centering in metaphysics. And the latter has not only difficulties but grave dangers. If theology requires a "revelation," so does a metaphysic of *a priori* first principles. If theology requires an orthodoxy, no less would his metaphysical university. If theology requires an orthodox church, his body of first principles would require an authoritarian institution to declare what metaphysical principles are to be "developed, elaborated and refined." If we are a "faithless" generation, we are no less a non-metaphysical, that is, a positivistic, generation. Not a single difficulty is escaped by falling back from theology to metaphysics.

When Mr. Hutchins says, "If we omit from theology faith and revelation, we are substantially in the position of the Greeks," that is, on the level of metaphysics, he exposes the weakness of his position. For the Greeks did not institutionalize their metaphysics. All they had was a few free-lance teachers of metaphysics and writers of books on metaphysical subjects. But Mr. Hutchins is projecting an institution of metaphysics, and an institution under social control. So far as the difficulties are concerned he might just as well have followed his primary insight and put theology at the center of his system.

But there are more than difficulties in the path of a metaphysicocentric university. There are perils in it, perils hardly less grave than those which have brought our prevailing system to its present crisis. Mr. Hutchins is proposing to apply his metaphysical first principles to the whole system of public or secular education. He refers to his plan as hypothetical. He need not have done so. It is already in existence as a going concern in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, in Turkey and in Japan. In these countries, Mr. Hutchins' educational theory is on the way to full realization. Their schools are based upon metaphysical first principles. The minimum of empirical nonsense is allowed. Experimentation and research are permitted only for the "development, elaboration and refinement" of the metaphysical first principles of race, of nationality, of empire, of dialectical materialism. We are sure Mr. Hutchins does not desire his educational system to produce a fascist social order or a totalitarian state. But his plan contains no protection against such a development. On the contrary, it is precisely the kind of edu-

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cational system which lends itself most easily to the designs of dictatorship, and it is the precise model to which every *de facto* dictatorship shapes its educational system.

Mr. Hutchins is playing with fire when he asks *secular* education to establish itself on the foundation of metaphysics. The inherent peril in it is far more frightening than the difficulties which beset its attainment. It was a serious mistake when he rejected theology and chose metaphysics to correct the aimless individualism and the vast human waste of our present system. He should have clung to theology. There is no other alternative.

Only three kinds of educational systems are possible in modern culture. One is child-centered, another is doctrine-centered, the third is God-centered. Our child-centered system is, by common consent, breaking down. Mr. Hutchins' doctrine-centered system is menacing civilization. What is there left but to organize education around the supreme reality of religious faith?

This is absurd, many readers will say; you are talking in Sunday School terms, not in terms of a vast public educational system. No, we are not talking in Sunday School terms, but neither are we talking in terms of public or state supported education. Society would be no better off for putting God at the center of secular education than for putting metaphysical first principles there. Social salvation, taking it in terms of the educational function, depends upon the availability of an *organ* of education whose accountability is to God alone, an organ of education which God himself has creatively brought forth in history for this very purpose. If there is no such organ, society will either assume a static form or disintegrate. If there is such an organ, but if it abdicates its responsibility for the initiation of its children into the rich treasures of its own religious tradition, and allows its children to grow up under secular tutelage alone, not only will that organ wither but the civilization for whose character it professes to be responsibile will spurn its God in favor of the gods of humanism and secularism.

# Esq.

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: When you are writing to certain of your subscribers, writers or critics, are you ever worried about their correct titles? When, for example, you have occasion to write to the Grand Llama of Tibet, or one of the Patriarchs of the Eastern Church, or a cardinal, or even a bishop, do you always know whether he is Most Reverend, or Venerable? Or do you send for one of those unassuming, but valuable, books which put you right on such matters? If we were all Quakers there would be no such hold-up in the day's work. Cardinal or bishop, he would be John or Edward. (But on second thought, if we *were* all Quakers, there would be no cardinal. As you were!)

One is in two minds about this use of titles. On the one hand they carry forward ancient traditions, and in an age in which so many are for making a clean sweep of ancient customs and courtesies, it may be a good thing to call a friend "Most Venerable." On the other hand titles may give rise to a social hierarchy in which man is exalted unduly.

**The rank is but the guinea stamp**
**The man's the gowd for a' that.**

Our English friends have a curious usage by which they address some men as "Mr." and others as "Esquire." The Frenchman is always "M.," but the Englishman may be either "Mr." or "Esquire." Once upon a time no doubt the line of distinction was clear, but it cannot be so any more. When you write to an English reader, which do you call him, "Mr." or "Esquire"?

The title "Esq." conjures up many romantic pictures. We see John Smith, Esq., as an attendant on a knight, riding out to do battle against his enemies, or to defend some lady or to wield a lance in the tournament. We see Sancho Panza with Don Quixote. But this John Smith, Esq., of our days rides forth in his car, and his knight is the manager of his firm, his enemies are rivals in business, the lady perhaps is the stenographer. And why not? May he not be as good a squire as those medieval warriors who were probably not nearly so romantic in the eyes of their neighbors as they are in legend or in art? There is something pleasant in the title when applied to John Smith of London, E. 15, in the year 1937 A.D.

But the difficulty must become acute when it has to be decided who is entitled to "Mr." and who to "Esq." Is it a matter of dollars? Or is it one of education? Or one of professional rank? If it is one of money, where do our English friends draw the dividing line? If it is one of birth, how steep a family tree must a man produce? And if it is a matter of profession, must a brewer be an Esq. and a plumber a Mr.? It is when somehow merit creeps in that the trouble begins. If it is a higher rank to be an "Esq.," how is that height reached?

Does it ever puzzle you, when you reflect upon the titles used in the church, to remember how very definite is the counsel given in the Gospels? "Call no man rabbi on earth." I should like to hear a sermon on this text from a cardinal, an archbishop, a bishop, or even a reverend. Perhaps like so many other words it does not mean what it seems to mean.

Yours puzzled,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

## *The Difference*

SAID once a preacher,
Writer of ancient scrolls,
Who for his wisdom
Looked within men's souls:

*The heart of a fool*
*Of his mouth is part,*
*But the wise man's mouth*
*Is in his heart.*

M. WHITCOMB HESS.

# Afterthoughts on the Preaching Mission

By E. Stanley Jones

THOSE of us who went into the National Preaching Mission as participants knew that we had to learn as well as teach regarding evangelism. In a way we shared the general confusion regarding methods of approach and methods of getting results. I think we were quite sure that men needed what evangelism in its best sense had to offer, but the method of approach had to be changed because the intellectual climate had changed. Men had to be approached through that climate.

That men do not respond to our approach, to our method of presentation and to the message we have, does not necessarily mean that men are not hungry for God. It may simply mean that they are not hungry for our representation of him. What we consider a hard age may be only an age that is hard on the thing we stand for and the way we stand for it. Evangelism must take that into its thinking and search its soul before it lambastes this age. Hardness and rebellion there is against the very things that real evangelism stands for, but some of the hardness and rebellion may be against us and against our approach and not against the real thing.

### *No Tricks, Please!*

One of the things we learned was that there must be no tricks in evangelism. You cannot play to the galleries and expect to get results. This age has been imposed on a great deal. We know that we are being subjected to exploitation all the time. We hear radio music, and we are not quite sure that we can enjoy it, for we know that our feelings of sympathy are being aroused so we will be in a mood to listen to the merits of Palmolive soap or something else. It puts us on the mental defensive. We bring that into the religious meeting with us. We cannot help it. We listen with an undertone of suspicion regarding the real purpose of it all. Is it to glorify this individual, to catch a man for this group, to feed a megalomania, to get money out of us? Only when the man in the audience sees that none of these things are there, that there is simple, disinterested reality, does he respond. He may respond to the other for a while, for there is a sense in which the people like to be fooled, but in his heart of hearts he knows that he is a fool for being fooled. The illusion soon fades. Evangelism in the future, if it is to get anywhere, must be sincerely and simply real.

Another thing we learned was that the best results can probably be gained by group action rather than by individual starring. Here, as elsewhere, he that saveth his life shall lose it. Unless we are prepared to merge our endeavors into producing a corporate result we shall probably produce little result. The starring attitude is self-assertive and therefore incapable of being Christianized; the corporate result attitude is self-sacrificial and therefore can be Christianized. A group working together can become an organism of the Holy Ghost. Since the nature of Christianity is intensely social the method of propagation must be intensely social if it is to result in Christianity and not in something else.

### *The Sense of Sin*

We knew there were two ways of approach open to us. One was to work from the individual to the social order, and the other was to work from the social order back to the individual. The first seems the more natural and instinctive approach, and yet I personally felt that it must be the other approach. If you had asked me why, I am not sure I could have answered. I think I see the reason now. The sense of individual sin has weakened in the individual. Decidedly so. Many people therefore feel that the case is hopeless for the individual until that sense of personal sin returns. But it doesn't seem to be returning. If a man feels that he is out of sorts with himself he is likely to go to the psychiatrist to see if he can get straightened out. He feels out of joint but hardly sinful. There is definitely a weakening of the sense of individual guilt. But the sense of corporate guilt is definitely strengthening. There was never such a feeling of guilt because of corporate sins as now. Listen in on any group talking and there will be signs of felt incompetence to solve things we know to be wrong in the corporate life. This generation is oppressed by sin in the collective life far more than the generations that have gone. In past generations when men were deeply impressed with their sense of personal guilt they had little feeling of corporate guilt. They could be converted and leave untouched the whole structure of corporate sin.

### *The Appeal That's Needed*

To appeal to this generation to repent of individual sin is to get but feeble response. Whether we like it or not, that is a fact. But work back from the social order to the individual and you get astonishing response. When you posit the kingdom of God on earth with its demand for change in the total life and work to the individual, he inwardly says: "Well, if that is the framework, if that is what you mean by being a Christian, I have got to be born over again and born different." The response is tremendous. Why did eight thousand people stay for an aftermeeting for personal surrender to Christ in the Madison Square Garden meeting and six thousand in the Arena in Boston? They were urged not to stay except on the basis that they wanted to know the steps which they should take and were prepared to take them. So they came forward and took the front seats. It took the breath away from many, including the missioners. Could it be unreal? Well, cut it in half and thus cut out the unreality part of it and you still have astonishing response.

I gave an appeal to a college group, working from the social order back to the individual. I asked those

who wanted to make the personal decision to stay and come and take the front seats. The president of that college was on the platform with me. I heard him ejaculate under his voice: "Wonderful. It is overwhelming." For between eight hundred and a thousand students stayed on that proposition. Why? I think it was because we asked for personal conversion in the framework of social demand. Had we reversed the process I think the response would have been small. We must appeal to that sense of social guilt and use it not only to produce social changes, but individual change as well.

### *Evangelism's Future*

Well then, the reply is made, why hasn't the preaching of the social gospel produced individual conversion? For obviously it hasn't in any large way. Perhaps the reason is that it has not been coupled with any large demand for individual conversion. The two separated are weak and ineffective, whether it be one or the other, but together they come with power. It seems to me that we must put them in such a blend that the demand for social change and individual change comes not as a gesture of recognition in one direction and the other, but as something so inescapable and so powerful that there is no dodging of the issue in either case. That is the lesson we must all learn. All of us have learned it but poorly. The possibilities of it are tremendous. The future of evangelism lies in that direction.

Another thing we discovered was that we must appeal to group loyalties that have now formed in American life. We found that the same thing is happening in American life that happened in Indian life. A man in India seldom decides a thing as an individual. Group decisions in large measure determine his life. He accepts them loyally. That same thing is happening with us. The era of individualism is largely over. A man accepts more from the group than he realizes. When a woman says, "It just isn't done in our set," she means that she is determined by the group decision. The student, the trade unionist, the official, the club member, the capitalist is controlled in very large measure by group loyalties. Most of his decisions will not be personal decisions but will be the re-echoing of a group attitude.

### *Evangelize the Inevitable*

We may not like this tendency, but it is a fact nevertheless. What is to be done? Grumble at it? No use. Get into it and evangelize it. Evangelize the inevitable! Appeal to the group to put Christianity down through that group into life. We sat with groups of industrialists, of labor union members, of officials in municipal, state and national life and urged them to put Christianity down through that group into life. We found a larger response than if we had appealed to them as individuals to respond to the Christian challenge. Many a man expressed the sense of personal need when asked to act in this way corporately.

This seems to me to point to the fact that in the future the church must not wait till people come to it. The leaders in the church must step out of their narrow groove and stand in the stream of these group loyalties and appeal to men through them. For instance, I know of one city where at the beginning of Lent the president of the church federation of that city wrote to the labor unions, the service clubs, the high schools, colleges and universities, the women's organizations and so on, and suggested that since it was Lent they might like speakers to be sent to their organizations who would interpret the Christian message to them. That is the modern equivalent of going out into the highways and hedges. It must be done. Christianity must break out from its church grooves and stand where people are and appeal through their group loyalties for Christian decision. If people do not come to church then the church must come to them.

Years ago I saw that I would get nowhere with the educated classes of India until I got out of the church buildings. They would not come to them. So I had to take the gospel into public halls, clubs, universities. We were at once at grips with life. Progress has been made in South America because the Protestant movement has recently done that very thing. It has taken on new life. The churches will have to do it more and more in America in the future. It opens a great door. It may be that the church will by losing itself save itself.

### *Giving the Invitation*

One word about the method of getting decisions. We were prepared to try any method or no method in appealing for personal decision. The fact is that we actually did try everything down the line in the way of methods. In the end we found that the simplest method was the best. There are two classes of people: one, those who would get more out of going home and quietly thinking over the matter and making one's decision alone; the other, those who will not make a decision unless they make it publicly. We frankly recognized those two types and told the audiences so. The group belonging to the first were urged to go quietly home and settle the matter with God.

On the other hand, we knew that the greater number belonged to the second type. In what way would we get them to declare themselves? There is an undertone of resentment in students and the public in general in being voted publicly regarding the Christian decision. How could we take away that resentment and yet make the decision sufficiently public to give it the strengthening that comes through public decision? The simplest thing was to say to the audience that after the benediction those may go who want to go, but that there are probably those here who would say: "Yes, but I want to find what you are talking about. How do you get it? What are the steps?" To them I would say that they should come forward and take the front seats as the rest went out. But I urged them to stay only if they meant to take the steps for themselves; that they must not stay for curiosity and that the meeting was over. That was the normal, natural culmination of a meeting. You have talked about a worth-while thing; now how do you get it? No one could resent that and yet it was sufficiently definite to make it count. A wide-awake pastor told me that this simple method opened the door for him to make his ordinary Sunday morning services

evangelistic by stopping behind with a group who would want to know the steps toward what he had been talking about.

The greatest shortcoming in the preaching mission in regard to evangelism was the impossibility of trying out on any wide scale the method of personal interviews. It was too strenuous for that. One who was speaking from two to five times a day for months had little time for personal interviews. This was a distinct weakness.

We also learned that the united impact of the Christian forces working together in evangelism takes away the suspicion of making evangelism a tool to get numbers for denominational bigness. For if behind the evangelistic appeal are heard the undertones of the voice of the proselyter, then evangelism will not get very far. Evangelism must be lifted out of denominational aims. Only by convincingly disavowing any selfish or sectarian interest can we make our appeal persuasive.

The supreme lesson that we have learned is that the soul of America is hungry if you can get to it. The greatest hour of evangelism is now upon us. The church must get back its nerve and courage and faith, and move forward with its message into the soul of America, a soul which in large measure is a moral and spiritual vacuum, empty of a positive way to live. It is a lost generation, but it is also a groping generation. In that groping is our opportunity.

# These Things I Saw

## By Margueritte Harmon Bro

THE STEEL MILLS of South Chicago, Gary, Calumet, Indiana Harbor. One drives past them to get to the Dunes. One reads about them on the front pages of the newspapers: "C.I.O. Gaining Ground." "Largest Chicago Mill 70 Per Cent Organized." "Wage Increase for Steel Workers." One hears about them where women gather—League of Women Voters, Federated Women's Clubs, even at missionary societies. "Night schools for the steel workers . . . mothers' classes in steel district . . . housing survey of steel workers' homes." One's high school sons come home requesting "our car tomorrow morning at four o'clock. The boys of the civics class decided to go out to help hold the gates while the steel workers get their tracts distributed."

Finally one decides to go to see. Not an official inspection. Just some way of getting into the homes of the steel workers on a friendly basis to see what the matter is all about. Sometimes one is ostensibly taking notes for a magazine, sometimes hunting a friend who has moved, sometimes asking about lodge or church connections, sometimes just requesting a drink of water. Whatever the excuse for ringing the doorbell—more frequently knocking—I have without a single exception met with friendly response.

These things I saw—and much, much more than these.

### *Housing*

1. The J—— family live in the corner house, better built than most. Storm windows. Family of two parents, seven children . . . own the house and live downstairs in three rooms. The upstairs rooms are rented to two other small families. House very clean . . . lace curtains, much mended . . . worn davenport and chairs. . . . Three children under school age, sallow, pinched faces, protruding tummies . . . Father makes $4.80 a day since recent wage increase. Has worked two-thirds of year. Taxes unpaid; kitchen sagging.

2. Downstairs vacant, windows broken, wind blowing through. Climbed outside stairs. Room off landing deserted, cold, but containing old broken stove, one broken chair. Very large colored woman invited me into "the room." Her brother lay recovering from pneumonia. Unspeakable bedding; several window panes of newspaper . . . Small stove with broken isinglass. Fuel picked up from right-of-way. Couch with uncovered springs upon which mother and nine year old daughter slept.

3. Small house back of regular houses. Two rooms, dirt floors, one tiny window each room. Bed, trunk, table, two chairs, cupboard, small stove, nothing else. No running water. No toilet facilities; family have to go three houses south to borrow bathroom as outdoor toilets are not allowed.

4. Old house made into several "apartments." Hallway so dark that I could literally see nothing. Knocked on door. Met very pretty bride (colored) proud of her two rooms. No outside windows. She said the place was unbearably hot in summer. People in apartment next lost both their babies in heat . . . No yard. No shade. Near plant. Bitter, acrid smoke.

5. Frame house, rattling windows, lathes inside, plastering never finished. Called on upstairs family . . . Children have measles, the mother thinks. So do I. She has called a doctor. I asked for a drink of water and followed mother into kitchen. She gave me water from a pail; carries all water half a block from a friendly neighbor's kitchen. Saw her sink and asked what was the matter with her own water. "Couldn't pay and they cut it off." No way to flush the toilet, unless "one of the kids carries water."

### *Men Are Cheap*

1. Group of perhaps a dozen men, Negroes, Mexicans, Polish. Heavily dressed; thick shoes; legs wrapped in many layers of old clothes; double gloves; swollen faces; bloodshot eyes. It is their business to tear down worn blast furnaces *as soon as the last white hot steel has run out.* Custom used to decree that a fur-

nace must cool several days before the men went in with picks to tear it down. Now "everything is running full blast." Each furnace counts. A new furnace must be built as soon as the old one goes out of commission. Hence the men are rushed in immediately. In spite of all the protection they can provide for themselves, they can stay no longer than half a minute. Even so, the intense heat blisters their faces, hands, legs, feet. Infection is common; pain intense.

"Is there no law against forcing men to this task?"

"Used to be, I guess. Maybe there still is. And so what? If we don't do it, somebody else will. We just lose our jobs."

"Why don't you *all* refuse? Just stand together, every man in every plant and say, 'We won't work in a white hot furnace.' "

"Sure. Some day, maybe. But nobody dares start."

2. In one great room steel is rolled to remarkable thinness, cut in narrow strips nearly a mile in length, wrapped tightly in great rolls, each roll fastened with one wire. Sometimes the single wire gives way, for no accountable reason, and the steel snaps forth as from a tightly coiled spring, cutting in pieces whatever lies in its path—part of a machine, a work bench, a window, a man's hand or head.

"Why not two wires to hold each coil of steel?"

"Two wires? On all of these coils? Think of the expense!"

"But two wires would be *safe*."

"Plenty of men."

### *Accidents*

1. One man standing on a small platform above the heads of his fellows, pushing levers with rapid precision. Five different levers, as fast as his hands can go. His face is tense, strained. He sees no visitor; indeed, his eyes never leave the five levers.

VISITOR: That looks like a dreadfully responsible job.

GUIDE: One slip and someone's likely to land in a hospital.

Visitor: Does he realize that—all the time?

Guide: His brother used to have the job. He got sick at his stomach one day; skipped a lever, and a workman got smashed up before his eyes. Knocked the old man cuckoo. They had to put him away somewheres.

Visitor: They shouldn't have let an old man handle such a responsible job.

Guide: Old? Oh, I didn't mean old in years. He wasn't more'n thirty. But they get old fast on them jobs. Average about six years and then they're through.

Visitor: Does this man know that?

Guide: I'll say he knows. . . .

Visitor: Five levers are too many.

Guide: They tried to make it six this fall but the men did holler then and the company let it slide.

2. "Today, I particularly wanted to see José, who seems to be a leader of the Mexicans. Waited at his house for him to come off the four o'clock shift. Friendly wife . . . nice children who translated for me. Setting hen in the glassed-in bookcase . . . José arrived with his arm bandaged in a sling. Asked him how he could work like that. He said he pushed a broom with his left hand, 'just putting in time.' Then I discovered that in his mill it is the custom for a man who is hurt, even though he may have a broken leg, or both arms broken, to report for duty and 'push a broom' or 'carry a pail.' For that he is paid regular wages *and* the company accident signs report '281 days,' meaning 281 days since any employee has lost time from an accident! Hence low insurance rates, and small danger of the employee's suing the company.

"I went to see other accident cases and found the same procedure in other mills. Went to the mills and saw the accident signs, sometimes in electric lights. '72,' '157,' '281,' '401'—all of these days with no worker's time lost through accidents. Remarkable! But you can see for yourself the bandaged men in the mill homes; one had broken both legs; several had fingers off, hands torn. Of course, minor injuries are frequently unreported and infection ensues.

"To be sure, some of the plants have excellent hospital facilities and some make a point of treating the slightest wound if it is reported. But frequently the hospital facilities are available only during certain hours. Talked with a man who lay for four hours on the floor after his leg was broken a week ago Sunday—waiting for a doctor. He did not complain; just answered my questions without much interest. Plenty of corroboration. Said José laconically: 'It doesn't pay Mexicans to talk.' Talked to a man who was hurt more than a year ago and can never work again. 'He never made no fuss about it because a lot of his relatives work there. They'd rather help him keep his family than lose their jobs too.'

"No one but I was much excited over the accident policy. An old man said, 'That's just the way it is.' "

### *Coming of the C.I.O.*

1. Went with the colored organizer for the C.I.O. this afternoon. In one poor house he began to ask questions of the woman and she said, "Is the C.I.O. something like the commune-ists?"

The organizer protested and explained the purpose of the organization—all of the men standing together for better wages, better hours, decent working conditions, the right to organize and bargain collectively. The woman said apathetically: "Us is all right. Ain't never been no different. Won't never be no different. What's the use?"

After we went out, the organizer stood twisting his hat. He spoke with great longing. "You see—we got to make them *start to want* before anybody can do anything about the way they live."

2. Watched the women gathering for their auxiliary meeting. White women of many nationalities, colored women of many shades. All happily talking together, calling hurried committee meetings. One group practicing a double quartette for the next open meeting. Another group rehearsing a skit. A snappy-eyed young Italian woman, carrying her baby, explained to me: "First thing in the world ever got us all together. My mother-in-law over there, she's learning English." And

then, assisted by others standing near, she poured out their plans—a nursery school, classes on feeding of children, English classes, citizenship classes, a club for parliamentary drill, room where the women can play games. More pretentious plans for next year, and the next. A building of their own as a night school and recreational center for the whole family. Something for everyone to do. Lectures, music, games, classes, classes, classes.

"Where would you get the money?"

"Where do the priests get the money? The people give it. And this time they'd get something in return. Part of it would be dues, and part fees, and then we'd just give besides. Anybody'll give when he sees what he's giving to."

3. Organization among the women is not easy. It is one thing for white and colored women to meet together for a business meeting; even for bunco, bridge, monopoly; for singing and for plays. It is another to hold an open meeting at night in which the men participate, followed by "a social time." The dancing begins. Shall white and colored dance together? One white says: "Never. We'll see 'em all in hell first. There's a limit." Another white says: "If a black man's good enough to stand in the picket line with me, then his wife's good enough for me to dance with. Only I can't dance. Got a club foot."

"All ye are brethren" . . . in some degree . . . maybe . . . at times.

4. The C.I.O. organizers work such long hours. Today they had been at the mill gates before five a.m. I came at nine, and in ten hours of following them around I was completely worn out. They had an evening meeting which would last until midnight. And they will be up and at it early tomorrow. None of them is very well paid; they use their own money for printing, for office help, for telephone, for gas in their cars whenever necessary. They are men with a cause.

### *The Churches*

A good many Catholic churches. Some of them filled during Lent, early in the mornings, on Sundays. Children's catechism classes. Sometimes sisters calling in the homes. No connection, as far as I could discover, with the stirring, yeasty new life about them. Many tales from José and his likeminded moderns of the uselessness of the church.

Some Protestant churches. Small buildings, unattractive. Indeed, much less attractive than the Catholic churches. Straggly Sunday Schools, those I saw. Custom-bound church services; the same overworked hymns; inevitable collections; an Aid making money on lukewarm oyster stew. Is this exaggerated? If you think so, then *you* go and see.

Contrast the pulse of life within the churches and life within the C.I.O. There will be no one so eager to point the contrast as the occasional Protestant minister who senses this difference and is taking advantage of the wakening of his people to offer them discussion groups, services or real worship which "even the C.I.O. cannot provide."

"If Jesus were here today," said one old minister with young eyes, "if he lived in Indiana Harbor, say, I think he'd be handing out union tracts when the night shift comes off duty, and he'd be in the midst of them [pointing to the young organizers] most of the day, out where the people are. But when Sunday comes, he'd probably be one up on me—he'd know what to say to them when they gathered in the temple. I can't even get them to come."

# Seven Senators Take the Stand

By Paul Hutchinson

AT THE END of every congressional investigation there comes a time when the investigators themselves must take the witness stand. Having extracted information in enormous quantities, frequently conflicting in nature, the legislators who have been designated to conduct the hearings must now turn about and tell their fellow senators or representatives what they have learned. Along with this report of findings it is expected that they will present recommendations as to new laws or changes in national policy needed to correct such abuses as their inquiry has brought to light.

After more than two years of intensive labor the Senate's special committee on the investigation of the munitions industry faced this requirement. Hundreds of witnesses had been heard; thousands of documents studied. To the public as a whole the very plethora of evidence seemed cause for confusion rather than enlightenment. Could it be possible that these seven senators, differing among themselves in political and social outlook, could reach anything like agreement as to the meaning of the evidence which they had been gathering? Or would this hearing wind up, as have so many congressional hearings, in nothing more than majority and minority reports, mutually exclusive in character and destined for a quick oblivion?

To me, the most surprising and the most important result of the Senate arms inquiry has been the virtual unanimity of the reports signed by Senator Nye and his colleagues. It is astonishing to discover that these seven senators, at the end of such a wide-ranging study of such highly controversial questions, should have come to absolute agreement as to the conditions which require correction, and should have differed so little among themselves as to what that corrective action should be. Here, as I have said, were seven men of widely varying outlook. Three were Republicans; four Democrats. The Republicans consisted of a liberal,

Nye; a middle-of-the-roader, Vandenberg; an ultraconservative, Barbour. The Democrats also ran the gamut from a liberal, Bone, through the two progressives, Clark and Pope, to the old-fashioned Southern conservative, George. Yet when these men came to transmit their report in seven bulky volumes to the Senate they declared themselves in complete agreement on *all* their findings, and they were unanimous in all their recommendations except in one single group.

Such an outcome is amazing. It makes it of the utmost importance that the American public should become aware of the contents of the committee's reports. In an article such as this I can do no more than suggest, in briefest outline, these unanimous conclusions to which the members of the inquiry came. But behind every word that I write is the hope that Americans with a sense of the responsibilities of their citizenship may be induced to go to the more than thirteen hundred pages of supporting evidence—the official title of this public document is Senate Report Number 944, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, parts 1 to 7 inclusive—and discover there the committee's own summary of the testimony it heard together with its reasons for the conclusions reached.

I

The thickest volume of the reports presented to the Senate by the Nye committee deals, naturally enough, with the direct operations of the American munitions industry, and contains recommendations for future control. It is with regard to this question of future control of munitions manufacturing that the only division of opinion among the members of the Senate committee occurred. The *findings* of the committee as to the nature of the armament business and its contribution to international discord were unanimous. But when it came to telling the Senate—and the nation—what should be done about it, the committee split right down the middle, or as nearly down the middle as a seven-man committee can split. Four members (Nye, Clark, Pope, Bone) became convinced that the only cure for the trouble-making proclivities of such a business is to turn it over entirely to the government. The other three (George, Vandenberg, Barbour) called for more rigid government control, but favored a continuation of the private manufacture of arms.

We will return to these recommendations later. It is to be hoped that their divided nature will not obscure from the country the fact that the findings on which they rested were concurred in by all the committee members. What were those findings?

Well, to begin with, American munitions companies have, "almost without exception," resorted to bribery and similar methods which are "unethical, a discredit to American business, and an unavoidable reflection upon those American governmental agencies which have unwittingly aided in the transactions so contaminated," in selling their products abroad. The methods which the munitions makers use in inducing foreign countries to buy their wares "carry within themselves the seeds of disturbance to the peace and stability of those nations in which they take place."

This part of the report is filled with paragraphs such as this: "The committee finds that there is no record of any munitions company aiding any proposals for limitation of armaments, but that, on the contrary, there is a record of active opposition by some to almost all such proposals, of resentment toward them, of contempt for those responsible for them, and of violation of such controls whenever established, and of rich profiting whenever such proposals failed." The methods by which armament salesmen play nations off against one another by creating fear of the larger or more deadly weapons which have been sold to neighboring countries (or by spreading rumors that neighboring countries are preparing to buy arms) are brought out in all their ugliness. The committee was not ready to hold the munitions makers responsible for bringing on wars by such competitive sales tactics, but it reached unanimity in this: "The committee finds it to be against the peace of the world for selfishly interested organizations to be left free to goad and frighten nations into military activity."

For disturbing reading let me recommend the sections of the report which deal with the relations existing between the munitions makers and various branches of the United States government. I will not even attempt to summarize these sorry findings; what they boil down to is the apparent conviction reached by the committee, in the light of the evidence which it heard, that about all a munitions maker needs to do to boost his sales—whether supplying the needs of army, navy or air force—is to descend on Washington, and generals, admirals, army and navy department bureau chiefs, and the White House itself will jump to assist him. And all the while private munitions makers are proclaiming their surpassing patriotism, they will go on selling to foreign governments newly patented weapons and other materials of war which may be used against the United States, just as in the World War the Austrians obtained for the Germans American submarine patents which were used to kill American soldiers bound for France.

As I have already said, a majority of the Senate committee believes that the only way in which to keep such an industry as this from constantly adding to the world's store of suspicion and ill will is by nationalizing it. It "recommends government ownership of facilities adequate for the construction of all warships by the United States navy department, also all gun forgings, projectiles and armor plate, and of facilities adequate for the production of powder, rifles, pistols and machine guns necessary for the United States war department." Aircraft manufacture would be left in private hands. An impressive massing of arguments supports the recommendation. The minority, however, not convinced, calls for "rigid and conclusive munitions control."

For myself, I must say that the recommendation reached by the majority seems more logical than that of the minority. Certainly the evidence shows that there has never been such a thing as "rigid and conclusive"—whatever that may mean—control over the munitions business, and it seems to indicate quite clearly that the chance of setting up such a control while private profit

making is involved is very slim. But at this point—the only point where the committee itself disagreed—there will be difference of opinion among those who study the inquiry record. It is to be hoped, however, that Americans will not jump to conclusions before they have at least read with care this part (it is Part 3) of the committee's report.

II

Shipbuilding has long been a controversial subject in Congress. The more surprising, and impressive, therefore, is it to find the Nye committee joining unanimously in findings such as these:

Naval shipbuilding is done in such a rush, and under such haphazard conditions, that "there is often not time to prepare designs," there is never any adequate check on the prices charged by private firms, there is no attempt made to hold private builders within the profit of 11.1 per cent set by the Vinson law until the treasury department, long after a job is done, tries to collect income tax. The present method of building in private shipyards "leaves the navy at the mercy of the shipbuilders. A series of bids are put before the navy, and the navy has to take the low one, and the taxpayers have to hope and pray that the low one is somewhere within a few million dollars of being reasonable and proper." When the Senate committee discovered that private shipyards had been making profits of 35, 25.4 and 36.9 per cent on specific cruisers, and steel companies even larger profits on armor plate, it was all news to the navy!

"The committee finds that the failure of the navy department to turn the navy yards into effective yardsticks by which the charges of private shipyards could be measured and kept down has resulted in leaving the profits of the shipbuilders practically uncontrolled." "The committee finds that the record of the present shipbuilding companies during the war, whenever examined, was close to being disgraceful. They made very considerable profits. On treasury audits they showed up to 90 per cent. They secured cost-plus contracts and added questionable charges to the costs. They took their profits on these ships after the wartime taxes had been repealed. They secured changes in contract dates to avoid war taxes. They bought from the government, very cheaply, yards which had been built expensively at government costs. In one case this was prearranged before the yard was built. . . . Knowingly exorbitant claims were filed against the government for cancellation. Huge bonuses were paid to officers. Profits were concealed as rentals. . . . The committee finds no assurance in the wartime history of these companies to lead it to believe that they would suddenly change their spots in the case of another war."

There are pages more in the same tenor, together with demonstration that any attempt to subject the private companies to genuine limitation of profits in building naval vessels would entail employment of such a force of government auditors and accountants that it would more than eat up any savings. "The committee questions whether this additional cost for auditing and policing, plus the cost of lawsuits after such audits"—a realistic note that, fully justified by what happened following the World War—"on top of the one to two million dollars extra cost [per cruiser] of private construction, and the $300,000 spent by the navy for inspection of the privately built cruisers, justify the continuance of private yards as naval contractors. They have the appearance of being expensive luxuries."

A *unanimous* report, this.

The Senate committee's division on the question of the nationalization of the munitions industry as a whole of course applied to its recommendations as to what should be done about future naval shipbuilding. As an immediate step, however, toward alleviating what was thus declared to be a scandalous commercial situation, the committee unanimously recommended enactment of a law which would require the comptroller-general to make a searching comparative analysis of future private bids, and to make recommendations on that basis as to whether they should be accepted or readvertised. And as a rough-and-ready means of putting a quick stop to the profiteering which these seven senators were convinced is going on in the private yards, they recommended that for the present the navy stop fooling around with the percentage profit limitations of the Vinson law and lay down a flat rate, paying private yards $500,000 more for each cruiser, $1,000,000 more for each aircraft carrier and $300,000 more for each destroyer than the cost of such vessels when built in government yards.

III

There are, however, many who still believe that the way in which to handle the worst abuses of the munitions business is through taxation or price-control laws. These would apply to all branches of the munitions industry, and would be relied on especially in time of war to do away with profiteering and the wholesale production of war millionaires. This is the "Take the profits out of war" demand which the American Legion and other veterans' organizations voice. The recent convention of the superintendence division of the National Education Association, held at New Orleans, put the school heads of the country almost unanimously on record in favor of it. Some church bodies have also registered their approval.

Inevitably, therefore, the Nye committee studied such proposals as one way of dealing with the evils of the private manufacture of munitions. Wisely, it based its study on the actual experience of the World War period. The conclusions to which it came do not differ much, in essentials, from those in the article by Alfred Schmalz, "You Can't Kill War Profits," which appeared in The Christian Century for March 24. But there will be value in looking at the precise wording of certain of the committee's findings:

> **On the basis of a careful review of the World War experience with price-fixing, based on the study of all the minutes of all the governmental bodies involved in that price-fixing, together with studies and analyses of large groups of profit figures and income tax returns, the committee finds that in order to prevent widespread profiteering in a national war emergency several amendments to the Constitution will probably be necessary. . . .**

XUM

1. The first of these amendments should permit the commandeering of plant, goods and industrial equipment for public use in time of war without the determination of "fair compensation" in the present way through review by the courts, which results in payment at the highest possible price levels. This is not an amendment to abolish the payment of fair compensation, but to allow for the determination of fair compensation according to the direction of Congress rather than of the courts.

2. The second of these amendments should make certain the power of Congress to tax for war-profits control on such bases of investment or fixed capital assets as it finds to be fair and just regardless of the possible inequality among taxpayers of such bases and without the elaborate procedure which may be unavoidable under existing law. . . .

3. The third of these amendments should permit Congress to tax the interest of tax-exempt securities during a national emergency.

If the nation really means to do away with war profiteering, these seven senators have become convinced, this is the only way in which it can be done. The Constitution must be amended, not once but three times. It must be amended with full consciousness that, to give the government power to commandeer and power to tax without uniformity, is to give any group in control of the government while a war is in progress power to wipe out its competitors. But if these three amendments to the federal Constitution are not adopted, the committee is persuaded that profit-control measures will fail to work. It gives six reasons, which may be summarized:

1. War inevitably involves waste and rising costs.

2. Information on munitions costs and administration of the control system would inevitably, in time of war, be in the hands of those trained in the industry and hence favorable to the contentions of the private manufacturers.

3. Costs cannot be scientifically determined; in the last analysis, therefore, the government can only enforce such profit-limiting as industry is willing to accept.

4. The economic inequalities of peacetime cannot be done away during a war, which is no time for fundamental reforms.

5. If business regards taxation as confiscatory, it will slow up production and thus confront the nation with the threat of defeat.

6. The impossibility of fixing costs with certainty makes it equally impossible to determine profits with certainty. Hence, profit taxes are sure to be full of loopholes.

In no feature, perhaps, is this part of the committee's report (it is Part 2 of the published volumes) more enlightening than in its exposition of the ability which private munitions makers have to "strike" against the government in time of war and force it to meet their demands. The government, as the committee points out, is far more helpless when it is confronted with a threatened strike of capital or management than with a labor strike.

> The apparent alternative of commandeering industry is in fact not an available alternative. If the owners of industry are compensated to their own satisfaction and surrender their enterprises and the benefits of their operating experience to the government, as in the case of the railroads during the World War, the cost is as great as the cost of meeting industry's demands for its services. On the other hand, if any significant part of industry were to be arbitrarily confiscated against the wishes of the majority of the business community, the chaotic condition resulting from the great social and political animosity which would be aroused thereby would definitely retard the production which is of paramount necessity for the prosecution of a modern war.

The committee then proceeds to show how helpless the government was during the war when the copper, steel and du Pont interests refused to produce until granted the profits they demanded.

> The government is more at the mercy of such a strike by capital or management than at the mercy of a strike by labor. . . . The latter is open and advertised. All the force of patriotic public opinion can be brought to bear to stop it. The former is neither open nor advertised. It was not until the hearings of this committee, some seventeen or eighteen years after the event, that the strikes of certain of our industrial companies in connection with wartime price-fixing became known.

When it was writing in this way, also, the Senate committee was in unanimous accord.

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*The concluding portion of this summary of the report of the munitions investigation will be published next week.*

# BOOKS

## The Most Modern Mind in The Middle Ages

THE AMAZING FREDERIC. *By Gertrude Slaughter. The Macmillan Company, $3.75.*

IT MAY BE an exaggeration to say of Frederic II, King of Sicily and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, that his was "the greatest intellect that ever wore a crown," but it is an arguable thesis. It is also no unreasonable proposition that he was the most original, the most free and the most modern spirit of the Middle Ages. The record of such a career and the evaluation of such a personality is controversial matter at almost every point. Mrs. Slaughter has kept as close as possible to the source materials and her judgments rest upon solid evidence. Her interpretation is, as I see it, consistent with itself and with the known facts. This, however, will not save her from criticism by those who are determined to believe that one who fought against popes must *ipso facto* have been a violently irreligious person. The last previous biography in English was entitled *The Infidel Emperor,* in spite of the fact that Frederic was a crusader, that he frequently reaffirmed his faith in "Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God," and that he was buried in the habit of the Cistercian order. Mrs. Slaughter's spirited and judicious portrayal is disappointing in only one respect: I had long intended to write a biography of Frederic myself, and it is now evident that this is no longer necessary, for the job has been satisfactorily done.

Frederic came upon the scene at the moment of the closest association of the ecclesiastical with the civil power. Orphaned

in childhood, he had as his guardian Innocent III, who brought the papacy to the climax of its power over the Empire. He inherited the crown of Sicily, journeyed to Germany while still a boy to be crowned as king of the Romans, and in 1215 was elected as emperor by the Lateran Council. The duty of persecuting heretics was laid upon him as his primary responsibility. When he was crowned at Aix, upon the throne of Charlemagne, he voluntarily took the vow of a crusader. That vow he later fulfilled, at his own time and in his own way. But his idea of civil rule was something very different from that of being merely a secular arm to do the bidding of the papal mind.

Having a questing intelligence, at once empirical and rationalistic, he sought knowledge wherever it could be found. He studied science and encouraged scientists, whether Christians, Jews or Arabs. He fraternized freely with Mohammedans—there had for centuries been a large Moslem element in Sicily—and established a Moslem colony in southern Italy and had Mohammedans in his court and army. That gave great offense to the Vatican, which viewed them as fit only for the sword. (Compare the recent appearance of the pope's friend Mussolini in the role of "protector of Islam," and the good Catholic Franco's employment of Moorish troops in Spain.) Frederic founded the University of Naples as a strictly state institution not under ecclesiastical control.

His basic idea was that of a secular state governed by a system of civil law based upon reason and justice. Most of all he was ambitious to make Italy a united kingdom in which society would be at peace, where property and human rights would be safe, and where men would be free from arbitrary control by ecclesiastical and feudal superiors. This brought him into point-blank collision with the papal policies of the time. It ran counter, also, to the localism of the fiercely independent Italian communes and to the vested interests of feudal lords. His task would have been a difficult one under any circumstances. The opposition of the church was what made it impossible, for its claims were irreconcilable with his program. Replying to a letter in which Frederic had said: "As I refrain from infringing upon your authority in spiritual matters, I must insist that you do not interfere with me in temporal affairs," Gregory IX wrote: "I tell you that Christ's priests are the fathers and masters of all kings and princes." He cited the forged donation of Constantine, and added: "Because it was unseemly that a mere mundane ruler should occupy the seat of the heavenly ruler, he transferred his throne to Byzantium. In doing so he left Rome and the surrounding territory, all of Italy and all of Europe to the pope's jurisdiction. If Charlemagne was emperor in the West it was only because the Roman pontiff delegated to him certain subordinate duties. He called upon him to use the sword, but only as a tool of the supreme power that resides in the pope." The papal theory has never been more clearly stated. Denying it was what made Frederic an "infidel" and twice won him the accolade of excommunication.

Though he valued the honor of his office as emperor, he was at heart more king than emperor. He was more interested in creating a peaceful, prosperous and law-abiding Italy than in the Holy Roman Empire. If he had been a less conscientious king, he would have been a more successful emperor, for it was the resistance of the Lombard cities, backed by the pope, to his efforts at administrative reform and unification that brought upon him most of his griefs.

Frederic was, says Mrs. Slaughter, "the modern man struggling for modern ideas against the medieval hierarchy." So he was. His modernism was defective at many points. He persecuted heretics, though he was himself called one. His personal morals were no better than those of some of the Renaissance ecclesiastics. But, more clearly than any of the other medieval rulers who had conflicts with the church, he had a philosophy of government and saw the necessity of a state based upon a civil code and free from the dictatorship of the hierarchy. He who could see this in the century of Innocent III and Thomas Aquinas is worthy of being held in everlasting remembrance. Mrs. Slaughter's splendid book will help to keep his memory green and will promote an intelligent understanding of issues which, in somewhat different and more subtle forms, are still alive.

W. E. Garrison.

# Books in Brief

Sentenced to Adventure. *By Serge Zolo. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

Here is adventure enough to make home seem sweet, if one ever had any doubt about it. Son of a Russian general, Serge was old enough to be a cadet in military school but not old enough to be a soldier when the revolution came. The family escaped via Sweden to England. From the training of an English school and Russian emigré society he went to Canada, worked for the Hudson Bay Company in the far north and on the Arctic coast, joined and later deserted the provincial police at Edmonton, adventured as a rum-runner, sailed and was wrecked in the South seas, broke into journalism by writing a story of the Japanese landing in Shanghai, became a reporter in Montreal, lost that job and did much better writing for the radio. There is in him a little of Don Juan, a little of Don Quixote, and something of any boy who runs away from home to seek his fortune. He is now in England planning to cruise around the world in a sixty-foot schooner. If he does he will have an exciting time. He is a magnet for catastrophe. He is now twenty-nine.

Murder Walks the Corridor. *By James D. Perry. The Macmillan Company, $2.00.*

Obviously a mystery story. Typical comments by volunteer readers in the office staff: "I enjoyed this very much; it is full of horrors." "I like this book; four murders in a two-dollar mystery story is a pretty good buy."

Roosevelt to Roosevelt, The United States in the Twentieth Century. *By Dwight Lowell Dumond. Henry Holt & Company, $3.50.*

From a liberal point of view but with extreme restraint in all expressions of opinion, Professor Dumond surveys the course of events and the developments of social and political theory in twentieth century America—"from Roosevelt to Roosevelt," inclusive. The style is too clear to permit the book to become unreadable, but it carries so heavy a load of factual detail that perhaps it will appeal rather to students than to readers. Its freedom from dogmatic and opinionated statements on controversial topics is a merit. Thirty pages of bibliography indicate the wealth of literature at the disposal of the student of this period, but there are few books in the list that the student will find more comprehensive or more useful than this one.

The Romance of the Calendar. *By P. W. Wilson. W. W. Norton & Company, $3.00.*

The more one looks into this matter of man's measurement of time throughout the ages, the more interesting it becomes. It includes historically and scientifically important matters like Babylonian and Egyptian knowledge of astronomy, the varieties of weeks and months that have been used at various times and places, the origin of the Sabbath, and the intricacies of the Mayan and Aztec calendars; and there are curiosities of custom and of mechanical and intellectual ingenuity. There are the Julian and Gregorian reforms to make man's calendar keep

pace with the seasons; and there is a full discussion and a favorable verdict upon the proposed new "world calendar" with the year divided into four equal quarters, each beginning with Sunday and containing three months of 31—30—30—30 days, with intercalary days which would not be any day of the week to take up the slack. Besides, there is the answer to a question that this reviewer has put in vain to half a dozen astronomers. When Pope Gregory XIII in 1583 had the calendar skip ten days (not eleven as the author strangely insists), so that Oct. 15 followed Oct. 14, did he keep the sequence of days of the week? He did.

ESCAPE TO THE TROPICS. *By Desmond Holdridge. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

Fed up with city life, the author and his bride went to the Virgin islands, lived among black neighbors on a small island, sailed the tropic seas in a small boat, had a glorious time and spent very little money. Later, Holdridge made a one-man expedition into the hinterland of Dutch Guiana in search of the aviator Redfern, who was reported to have crashed in the jungle or on the highlands of the Brazil-Guiana border in 1931. Relief expeditions seeking Redfern were so numerous that they almost stepped on one another's feet. None of them found him. But Holdridge, after an adventurous journey, decided that Redfern was or had been there, that he was either dead or in captivity, and that the only way to reach the place was from the Amazon side. He tells his story with gusto and contagious enthusiasm. Few will care to use his narrative as a guidebook to Guiana, but the many who look longingly at maps of the Lesser Antilles will find information as well as entertainment in his story.

RIZAL: MAN AND MARTYR. *By Frank C. Laubach. Community Publishers, Manila, P. I. Stechert & Company, New York.*

Rizal was, says the author, the Lincoln, the Mahatma Gandhi, the Sun Yat-sen of the Filipinos. Born in 1861, he was executed by a Spanish firing squad in Manila on the last day of 1896. It was charged that he was "the principal organizer and the living soul of the Filipino insurrection." Probably he was. At home and abroad he had been working for independence since his student days. He was also a physician, a poet, a sculptor and a journalist. He was a Catholic but incurred the ill will of the church as much by becoming a Mason as by his fight upon the intrenched interests of the friars. Many of his poems, in Spanish, are given in this biography. They are aflame with a passion for liberty, and some of them are deeply religious. The story of this patriot's life and death is profoundly moving. Those who think that racial purity is essential to personal excellence may be interested to note that the ancestry of this magnificent character included elements from Spain, China, Japan, Borneo and the Tagalog tribe in the Philippines.

HEROES OF THE AIR. *By Chelsea Fraser. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, $2.50.*

This is not so much a book as an institution. First published in 1926, it has been repeatedly revised, reissued and brought down to date. It is a popular history of aviation with stories of notable fliers and flights, containing a large and solid body of fact and also a good deal of gush. The "romance" of air travel still occupies a prominent place in the author's mind. For the next edition, which will undoubtedly be called for, a thorough rewriting is recommended, with the elimination of the more obvious banalities and the inclusion of a discussion of some of the present problems of aviation as the modern method of carrying passengers, mail and freight. It is too good a book not to be a little better.

MAGNOLIA SQUARE. *By Sara Christy. John H. Hopkins & Sons, Inc., $2.00.*

Robyna Hood of Philadelphia invades the Old South. She soon finds herself in the center of a small town hotel war, the partner of her Aunt Emily. Robyna falls in love with Magnolia Square and the enemy. She is involved in a perplexing tangle of love, mystery and near-disaster until her aunt and the enemy unexpectedly join forces and rescue her. Light fiction. Teen-age readers will find the story charming.

# CORRESPONDENCE

## Johnston Ross

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The brief paragraph in The Christian Century of March 17 concerning the late George A. Johnston Ross has set me wondering why there has been no more adequate notice of the death of a very remarkable man. To be sure, Johnston Ross had lived in retirement for some years, and that, by his own deliberate choice, far away from the scenes of his active life. But that does not seem to justify the apparent indifference to the close of a notable career. That it might have been a much more notable career than it actually was, is a fact not to be denied, and a fact which we who knew and loved Ross have long and sorrowfully pondered. But we also affirm that to know Ross intimately was a rare privilege. Sometimes he tried our patience, but we went on loving him all the same.

When I went to live in London in 1900, Ross was already famous. He had a few years previously come from the Bridge of Allan in Scotland to St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Westbourne Grove, in the west end of London. Spurgeon had died a few years before and Joseph Parker's ministry was drawing to a close. Those of us who thought we knew what was what, found in Ross the one man in sight who approached the stature of the giants. In those days, I worshiped him afar off; but in 1903, I formed a friendship unbroken until he died.

In 1902, he was called from London to St. Columba's Church in Cambridge. Of his ministry in Cambridge, Dr. Orchard in his *From Faith to Faith* has given an account. In his student days, Dr. Orchard "sat under Ross," and this is what he says: "But it was the preaching of the regular minister of St. Columba's that made the greatest impression upon my mind; for Sunday after Sunday he poured forth a series of thrilling and unforgettable sermons. His material was based upon a careful, but not obtrusive scholarship, made alive and arresting by a delicate and unusual phraseology, and packed with original information and spiritual interest. Beginning slowly, and picking his way through a critical introduction, he would gradually extricate the point which he meant to press home, which he would then emphasize with a growing intensity, until the discourse began, as it were, to crackle with heat, and would then burst into flames, and finally flare up, white and glowing like a furnace. He had the power of investing every subject with a first-class importance; for if he did not feel a subject was important it would have secured no attention from him. After a sermon from this preacher one wanted to avoid conversation, and felt one ought to spurn food, get alone, and clinch its effect by some act of heroic consecration. To me, Cambridge meant, above all things, the preaching of this remarkably gifted man; for those who had good right to judge regarded him as the finest preacher of his generation."

When the call to Bryn Mawr came to him, to our consternation Ross decided to accept it. Late in his last week at Cambridge, he sent me a telegram asking me to preach at St. Columba's on the evening of his last Sunday there. I knew him, by then, well enough to understand what he was going through. He allowed any emotional situation to lacerate him mercilessly. I had, for his sake, to agree to go. But I made it a condition that he should come and

take my place that evening. To this he consented. I knew that I had to do an impossible thing at Cambridge and that I should go there in fear and trembling. But I thought it would be worth the price to have Ross back at Westbourne Grove before he left England. I knew it would make my people happy and it did. I hoped it would make Ross happy as well.

Ross had never been quite happy and had sometimes been acutely unhappy at Westbourne Grove. In connection with the negotiations incidental to his removal from the Bridge of Allan to London, there had been a transaction which later led Ross to fancy that he had sold himself to Westbourne Grove, and particularly to one person. He was extremely sensitive and brooded a good deal over the matter. He felt that he had forfeited his independence, and began to think that his ministry was being undermined by the false position in which, as he supposed, he had—with the best intentions—allowed himself to be put. I had sometimes tried to persuade him to come to preach to his old congregation; but he would never consent. I who knew the congregation knew well also what his ministry had meant to all its members, and especially to those whom he supposed to be cool toward him. More than once in after years I tried to tell him so. But he never believed it.

It was, I believe, this excessive sensitiveness, coupled with a more than Highland imaginativeness, and complicated by a tenacious hypochondria, that kept Ross in a state of *malaise* throughout his active life. My impression is that he was happier at Bryn Mawr than in any other of his charges after the Bridge of Allan. Naturally I saw a good deal of him when I myself followed him across the Atlantic and settled in Brooklyn. His company was always a delight. He had, when thoughts of his health were not vexing him, a great charm and vividness which made him the center of any group that he might chance to be in. His letters—always written in his own characteristic hand—were generous in length; and they reproduced his very self. I hope that a selection of them may be published later on. They will, better than any biography, present the features of the man we knew. He was not successful in conveying his personal vividness into the printed word; and his books, while their substance is admirable, do much less than justice to his personal power and the characteristic savor of his mind. Of his work at Union Theological Seminary, there are those who can speak more intimately than I, and it would be presumptuous on my part to do so. But I can bear authentic witness to his glorious preaching, his rich ministry to individual souls, and his generous friendship; and in spite of the handicaps, psychical and physical, that beset him, the books of the "Reading Angel" have a story to tell of an achievement vastly greater than can ever be set down in print.

Sherbourne United Church, Toronto, Ont. RICHARD ROBERTS.

## Training for Diplomacy

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: This is Good Friday. I have just finished with sweeping and polishing up a bit so that the church will be ready for services later in the day. Several months ago I found myself without permanent employment and it was only through the good offices of some friends that I was able to secure a temporary assignment to a small church not even able to afford a janitor.

Perhaps others are not constituted that way, but for me to have held my job I should have had to quit reading The Christian Century, or if continuing to read it I should have had to ignore its comments on matters that seem to me to have to do with contemporary religion. For after letting my convictions come to utterance in the pulpit, I finally got my orders to make no more references to war, alcohol, relief or labor questions.

If the brotherhood men felt that fellowship would be helped a bit with the sale of beer at a fish fry the minister could just bat an eye and let it go at that. If the women in their good intention of "raising money" for the church hit upon schemes that were prohibited by the law of the state, well, the deacon solved the issue by stating: "We don't care if it's against the law; we need the money for the church and some people won't give any other way." And with that the minister was expected to close the other eye. And if perchance some good friends who were interested in missions gave money for that purpose, it was just kept for local uses, for the deacon surmised, "We got heathen here too." But if the minister did not interfere in such matters as these he could do about as he pleased.

My democratic denomination does not place ministers and so there was not much that my superiors could do but to let me get fired with as little noise as possible. Several ministerial votes backed up my stand, but I guess the district officer about summed up the real attitude of the church when he said, "A man has got to live." (Where have I heard that before?) And more and more I have been wondering if this living business isn't crushing the life out of many preachers.

Dear editor, tell me by what right the church assumes to pose as a religious leader at all if it plays fast and loose with the way it gets its own money and if it contrives ways neatly to dodge issues that may in one way or another be a discomfort to its members. Maybe we do not need preachers any longer, but rather a new species of celestial bellhops. But if you are going to keep on writing as you do what are some of us poor preachers to do?

Or how does one get to be diplomatic?

Thus I meditate on Good Friday and now to my sermon for tonight.

Rockford, Ill. ORRIN P. SCHROERLUKE.

## Fists and Palms

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A somewhat ominous symbol of the growing nationalism in many countries is the uplifted clenched fist salute, accompanied by patriotic shouts. It has been adopted in Russia, Italy, Germany and Spain, and now is part of public ceremonies in China. It does not seem to be distinctive of either communist or fascist countries. In China the clenched fist salute is given by public assemblies with the shout, "Wang shui" (ten thousand years), equivalent to the better-publicized "Banzai" of the Japanese. This phrase is repeated nine times with the lifting of the clenched fist, in three series of shouts. Compare this new symbol, evidently spreading to many countries in the East as well as the West, with the common sign of the friendly American Indian on the plains of the northwest, the right hand uplifted with open palm forward, to show that there are no concealed weapons and no threat. Are only the weak and cowed and defeated peoples of the world to greet strangers with an open palm, while all the strong and self-sufficient nations shout challenging cries with the uplifted clenched fist? Is this the sort of world we may expect, instead of that time when we are told that we shall not "learn war any more"? Is the proper national attitude to other nations a challenge and defiance or an appeal to confidence?

Foochow College, Foochow, China. GEORGE W. HINMAN.

## A Patriotic Duty?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Coming at this time, do you not consider the recent quick enactment by Congress of the voluntary retirement act, affecting federal justices seventy years of age or over, as tantamount to a request from the American people, through their representatives, for the resignation of all aged justices, particularly those on the bench of the Supreme Court? Is it not their patriotic duty to retire at once?

Gardar, N. D. SWAIN S. JOHNSON.

## Warning to Cincinnati

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In your editorial concerning Mr. Dykstra's acceptance of the Wisconsin post you voice a fear which some of us feel, namely, that the highly successful system of city manager government will soon be a thing of the past in Cincinnati. Nothing has been said; yours is the first printed word of the sort I have read; yet there is an underground feeling of apprehension. Why a city which has had such an outstanding success with this form of government

under both Dykstra and Sherrill—why, the city even *looks* different!—should be in danger of taking such a retrograde step can only be explained by the fact that the forces of evil and reaction seem to be always on the alert, and the others seem to sit down complacently without any foresight.

If your editorial could be placed in the hands of every clergyman in Hamilton county, they might be warned and shake their people out of their curious inertia.

Ascension Rectory, EDITH V. STRIDSBERG.
Wyoming, Ohio.

## Sectarianism in the Peace Movement

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Detroit's experience with the difficulties of organizing effectively those who seek to prevent war now has reached a point where it illustrates the national, possibly, the world impasse—the apparent paralysis of men and nations who have learned the futility of war as a remedy for basic evils, but who have failed to find the prescription with which to cure this world disease.

When I became chairman of the public affairs department of the Detroit Council of Churches three years ago I found one of the subdivisions of the department was that seeking to promote peace on earth. With Dr. Benjamin J. Bush, chairman of this division, we set out on our way. Today we see the religious and many other forces of our city alarmed by the prospect of war, but not sufficiently alarmed to get together and organize any kind of city-wide expression of the convictions of the majority. What are the reasons? I can find three.

First, sectarian religion, and the lack of understanding which it generates. We see Boston, Cleveland, and dozens of other cities of size bringing together people of all faiths, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic, on a common platform of opposition to war. But in this city all our efforts to this end thus far have come to nothing, and this in spite of considerable help from the outside. No matter who takes the initiative locally, somehow there seems to be a failure to get cooperation on any official or responsible basis. Last year some attempt was made to bring about an original overture from an outside, national agency, but things did not happen. Somewhere in the proposed plan there was too little faith to compel common action; each group preferred to stay in its own independent field of thought, with very little action following.

Second, issues in the industrial and economic area. Long known as an open shop town, the center of the world's automobile manufacture, Detroit reflects today in high degree the tensions which came to a climax in the General Motors strike. When the American Federation of Labor a few years ago held its annual meeting here, certain issues were raised that left decided irritations between groups of industrial leaders and church officials.

Last year Mr. Kirby Page, representing the Emergency Peace Campaign, generously gave considerable time and effort in the hope of making Detroit the capital of a Michigan-Indiana regional area in that campaign. Between those who opposed pacifism, and the religious, business and military groups who feared a tinge of pink radicalism, all plans considered in that connection had to be abandoned. But with the largest consideration, and devotion to the common cause, Mr. Page finally volunteered to help us, financially and in other ways, to set up an independent Detroit Peace Committee, backed by conservative business and church groups.

Despite his help, including one $500 check, we have thus far failed to bring things to pass. Of course the strike in Flint, and the epidemic of sit-down strikes which now has broken out, had much to do with postponement of the great mass meeting which was to have been held in Masonic Temple auditorium. Our tentative committee has not disbanded, but our plans for the future are decidedly uncertain, indefinite and nebulous. And Kalamazoo is the center of the Michigan-Indiana region for education in practical peace.

Third, the sectarian spirit among peace advocates themselves. It may be that some day we shall find ways to eliminate present differences sufficiently to federate ourselves on a simple platform of united action against war. But it is depressing to note the "denominational" attitudes of Detroit peace enthusiasts.

On all occasions, even when small numbers have gathered to consider next steps, it has seemed all but impossible to keep the meeting free of controversy as to "definition of objectives" and "the specific program of action." Without ever adopting any platform, the tentative committee sought to make its broad appeal on the basis of "study" concerning three aims: neutrality in case of a foreign war, non-participation in any foreign war, and reduction of the artificial barriers among nations which now tempt them to go to war. Even in one meeting of fewer than ten leaders it became necessary, in the interest of unity, to add "reasonable provision for the national defense."

On another occasion a well-known group representing international opposition to war, when assembled to hear reports of delegates to the Chicago Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, simply could not find even a few minutes of time for a statement about the situation in the Detroit Peace Committee—and the real difference lay in the failure of the peace committee thus far to say the words which this other group accepted as their creed.

It is true that during the past six months various unrelated conditions and circumstances have stood in the way of such contributions of time, services and funds as must be made, if this kind of project is to be launched. We can talk, but we are too busy to do anything for peace. But even with a clear field I conclude we would have had to face and overcome, in getting city-wide action, exactly the impassable obstacles which, until they are removed, will stand as a cause of regret and shame to a few religious workers in "Detroit the Dynamic."

The Citizens League, W. P. LOVETT.
Detroit, Mich.

# The Question Box

*What is the interpretation of Philippians 2:12, 13, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure."* E. A. M., Andrews, Ind.

THE question implies that there would seem to be a contradiction between the two terms of the passage, the divine activity in the creation of a new life, and the necessity of achieving that life by personal effort. Yet in reality no paradox is involved. The process of attaining the status and character of the children of God is a divine enterprise. It involves the entire redemptive procedure from the beginnings of the kingdom of God on earth. Every step in the program of human growth in intelligence and moral stature through the ages is a part of the divine purpose for the race. It is both the will and the happiness of the Father that all men should come to a knowledge of the truth, and thereby reach the estate of the sons of God. Nothing less than this can realize his intent regarding mankind, or afford him the satisfaction of which paternal love is deserving.

Yet this is a cooperative undertaking. Men have a measure of freedom, in spite of all the limitations which life imposes. There is no power in the divine government of the world to force mankind into goodness. Some philosophies have affirmed that human life is helpless in the hands either of fate or of deity. The Old Testament discloses fragments of this view. But the Christian conception of the holy life involves concurrent action on the part of the human and the divine. God cannot make men holy without their participation in the process, and men cannot become the children of God save by the divine grace (Eph. 2:8). It is that grace which offers this cooperation, and it is the faith of man which lays hold of it. In a true sense both the grace and the faith are gifts of God.

But the winning of a Christian character is no light and easy achievement. Our Savior's life is the measure and pattern of that perfection to which we are called and which is the goal of every serious and resolute friend of the Lord (Matt. 5:48). The august and awe-inspiring nature of God and of the moral order of the universe are such as to compel in all thoughtful souls such a sense of reverence and solicitude as may well be described as "fear and trembling." To "come short of the glory of God" in this world and that which is to come is a catastrophe which no discerning mind can contemplate without deep concern. H. L. W.

# NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

## Army Officers to Teach Schools

**Turkey Makes Novel Attack on Illiteracy in 40,000 Villages—Copt Monks On Sit-Down Strike**

*(Correspondence from the Near East)*

ISTANBUL, March 6.—When judging the efforts Turkey is making for her reconstruction, it is impossible not to refer to the fact that she has 40,000 villages, of which many hardly deserve that appellation, and which in sparsely inhabited provinces are situated at a great distance from one another.

Of these 40,000 villages 32,000 have neither school nor teacher. It is calculated that with the help of existing institutions it would require 96 years to train the necessary teachers. But the government decided to have this done in ten years, and devised a plan which will not only yield the necessary number of teachers in that short period but will also train a type that psychologically will be much nearer the rural population than is the ordinary town-trained man.

The Turkish army for over half a century has been at the root of all progress in Turkey, be it in medicine or in policy. Since the war, it has been the greatest school in the nation, where the illiterate soldier is taught some elements of primary education. It has now been decided that noncommissioned officers shall be trained as village teachers and also shall be prepared to disseminate elementary notions of farming and hygiene.

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### Exotic Operetta Banned

An official communique announces the decision of the Turkish government to prohibit the performance of the famous "Geisha" operetta in Turkey. This operetta, the commentary which accompanies this interdiction points out, was born of an unhealthy European spirit which, addicted to exoticism and to backward romanticism, endeavors to represent Asiatic countries under an aspect proper to fairs.

This measure has been taken under a general law, passed two years ago, which enables the authorities to ban films or plays which they feel are likely to offend the national prestige of foreign countries.

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### Youthful Delinquents Show Increase

An article in the local press calls public attention to a striking increase in the number of delinquents of less than 15 years of age. This is all the more interesting as this happens just at a time when the law on *flagrants delits* is causing offenses committed by adults to become fewer and fewer.

Most of these juvenile offenders appear to commit acts of theft and other offenses on the instigation of employers. They do not seem to have even the slightest notion of what their acts really mean, and induced by easy profits continue on that road ignorant of a better life.

The author of the article deplores the fact that under Turkish law young delinquents are restored to society as soon as they have served their time in prison, and suggests that houses of correction should be organized in Turkey with the task of reforming these youths.

* * *

### Copt Monks On Sit-Down Strike

The monks of a Copt monastery in Egypt are reported to have revolted against their superior and to have intrenched themselves in the abbey, whereupon the Egyptian government sent a strong detachment to carry the monastery, which, built five centuries ago, is a kind of fortress.

The conflict originated in a threat which was received by the superior that if the monks continued to go wandering about Mohammedan villages they would be fired at. When the superior ordered them to renounce such excursions, the monks not only refused to obey, but asked for his resignation. What makes the matter utterly strange is that the monks of another monastery seem to be likely to imitate them.

* * *

### Turkish Villages Prohibit Foreign Languages

Last week the *Haber,* a largely read Istanbul daily, announced that the Brussa municipality had decided to prohibit the public use of any language but Turkish, and consequently to inflict a fine of five liras (equivalent to $4) on all offenders, travelers to be exempt.

The *Haber,* which commented favorably on this decision, recalled that the same measure had already been applied by the Tekirdag municipality and expressed the wish that such steps should also be taken at Istanbul.

The Turkish press devoted several articles to this question. In general, their opinion was sympathetic to the taking of such measures in small towns, where it was imperative to exercise some pressure on Turkish immigrants and also on non-Mussulman citizens who still spoke another language than Turkish. But they felt that so drastic a measure could hardly be applied to a town of such cosmopolitan character as Istanbul.

E. GUERON.

### Lynchburg College Inaugurates New President

Lynchburg College, Lynchburg, Va., announces that Riley Benjamin Montgomery will be inaugurated as president in connection with a special founders' day program on April 17.

### O. M. Walton Becomes Cleveland Federation Secretary

Rev. O. M. Walton, for several years associate secretary of the Cleveland Church Federation, has been elected executive secretary of the federation. He succeeds Rev. Don D. Tullis in that office. Mr. Walton is the Cleveland correspondent of The Christian Century. Mr. Tullis has taken a pastorate at Daytona Beach, Fla.

## Kathleen Norris Urges Peace Mind

**Addresses Large Audience on Anniversary of America's Entrance into War—Dr. Fosdick in Chicago**

*(Correspondence from Chicago)*

CHICAGO, April 5.—"Should the United States ever again go to war?" was the question asked by Kathleen Norris, novelist, in an address delivered at a mass meeting in Chicago Temple last night. The meeting, which was held to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of America's entrance into the World War, was addressed also by Dr. Albert Buckner Coe, pastor of First Congregational Church, Oak Park, who, in spite of (or because of?) his experience as a naval chaplain in the World War, has become one of America's most ardent supporters of a national peace program. The Emergency Peace Campaign and the First Methodist Episcopal Church jointly sponsored the meeting, which attracted a large audience. Mrs. Norris also spoke at the early meeting of the Sunday Evening Club, making an impassioned plea for the "peace mind."

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### Dr. Fosdick In Chicago

"The Cross and the Ordinary Man" was Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick's subject on the occasion of his annual visit to the Chicago Sunday Evening Club last night. "Life is pretty much made up of two things," said Dr. Fosdick, "enforceable and unenforceable obligations. On the one hand is the conduct which the laws of court or custom can demand of us, and on the other side the ways of living that no laws ever can require. The greatness of a nation lies in the number of its citizens who yield obedience to unenforceable laws. This is the very essence and spirit of the teaching of Christ. When he went to the cross he did something that no one could have required of him; he was moving in the great realm of unenforceable obligation. He was among the folk who get their criterion of character and standard of behavior mainly from within."

Dr. Fosdick's appearance on the Sunday Evening Club's program is always an occasion for a capacity house, and last night's meeting was no exception. He also preached at the University of Chicago Chapel in the morning.

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### Methodists Commend Peace Bills

Charles F. Boss, Jr., executive secretary of the General Conference committee on world peace of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose headquarters are in Chicago, acting for his committee, has written Hon. J. B. Pelletier and Hon. Ben Rosenthal, members respectively of the California assembly and senate, commending the identical bills which they are sponsoring in their respective legislative bodies. These bills

provide that "no student or pupil in any of the universities or colleges of this state shall be obliged to enroll in a course of military training, and no university or college in this state shall require a compulsory course in military training." In his communication to these and other legislators Mr. Boss points out that their proposals are in direct line with the official action of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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### Church Investigates Taxicab Strike

After 21 days the discommoding and sometimes violent strike of the Yellow and Checker taxicab drivers, to which I referred in my last correspondence, was ended, largely because of the pressure exercised upon both parties to the dispute by a group of aldermen. Few churches, so far as I know, gave any attention to the situation, although many of the values sponsored by the churches were gravely endangered. The social action committee of the New England Congregational Church, however, did investigate the situation and reported at the Sunday morning service, March 21. The report was remarkably fair and free from bias, and, since copies were sent to all interested parties, possibly did something to ameliorate the bitterness of the strife.

* * *

### Evidence of Jury Bribery in Acquittal of Court Clerk

A few months ago Frank V. Zintak, formerly clerk of the superior court, was twice tried for embezzlement on charges arising out of a shortage of $26,500 in the funds of the court clerk's office during his incumbency. The jury disagreed in the first trial and found Zintak not guilty in the second. Now come various members of the jury and investigators telling about the joys of service on a jury where the case has political angles. According to the allegations made, the tedium of listening to testimony was lightened by plentiful supplies of liquor, and the loneliness of week-ends relieved by conducted tours of taverns with appropriate entertainment, including dancing with available ladies. And that is not all. One juror, who alleges that he was promised he "would be taken care of," in the case of Zintak's acquittal, to the tune of a job that would pay him $10,000 over a period of four years, further alleges that he was badly let down with a $25 bribe. A prominent politician has been indicted, charged with the bribery, and an investigation into the whole business is being conducted. One has learned to expect, however, that it will at last be discovered that it was all a mistake, and that everything was as innocent as a Sunday School picnic.

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### And So Forth

Mrs. Kenneth F. Rich, Jane Addams' successor as head resident of Hull House, has tendered her resignation to the board of trusteees.

A one day "Institute of Human Relations" will be conducted by the Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians, of which Dr. James M. Yard is secretary, on Thursday, April 8. President Frank Kingdon, of the University of Newark, Irene Harand, noted Catholic newspaper editor of Vienna, Austria, and Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, will be the chief speakers.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

# Housing Reform Faces Impasse

**Without Federal Aid Desperate Need Cannot Be Met—Dr. Sockman Celebrates 20th Anniversary**

*(Correspondence from New York)*

NEW YORK, April 5.—Nothing could more effectively reveal the difficulty—not to say, the futility—which besets the campaign now being waged by churches and social agencies for better housing on New York's east side than the present crisis in the housing situation. Just to bring this paragraph up to date it is necessary to recall previous reports and recent developments. They are, sketchily, as follows: (1) Langdon Post, housing commissioner, and Mayor LaGuardia make New York housing conscious with their experimental enterprises in Harlem and other sections. (2) United Protestantism, supported by other religious groups, sponsors a vigorous "better housing campaign." (3) A well-planned conference, sponsored by Bishop Manning and the Federation of Churches, features lectures, forums and large-scale exhibits to drive home the desperate need now existing in the slums. (4) Mayor LaGuardia condemns scores of tenements as failing to meet legal requirements and as unfit for human habitation. (5) Real estate interests sponsor a bill which provides fire-fighting equipment in "unsafe" tenements. (6) Governor Lehman, incensed with such inadequate protection, promptly vetoes the measure. (7) A serious housing crisis is precipitated in the city.

* * *

### No Solution Without Federal Subsidy

Unless new meetings are held, new exhibits displayed and new agencies of public opinion set into motion the present drive of the organized forces of religion will be lost. Already there is a feeling that "nothing will be done." The simple fact is that the real estate people cannot build decently heated, lighted, ventilated and safe tenements for prices which millions of New York's wage earners—white collar and otherwise—are able to pay. Unless, therefore, the drive for better housing becomes at the same time a drive for federal support of great housing projects, it will lose itself in the smoke, gas and dust laden air that hangs heavy over our skyscrapers.

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### Metropolitan Ministers Ignore War Anniversary

If there were a half-dozen sermons on the anniversary of America's entry into the World War, I have failed to hear about them. Dr. Sockman referred to dictatorship and war in his 20th anniversary sermon, and expressed the belief that another 20 years of peace might possibly produce "real peace." But aside from this and a few other incidental references most peace sermons were held over until Memorial day. Sermons on unconventional social subjects were not lacking. Margaret Sanger discussed birth control in Dr. Holmes' Community Church pulpit; Dr. Charles Francis Potter spoke on "Cremation," one of a series of "taboo topics," which also includes euthanasia and homosexuality; Prof. Edwin S. Corwin of Princeton University spoke on the Supreme Court and the Constitution at the Ethical Culture Society headquarters. But these subjects and a great variety of others are the usual fare announced in the weekly sermon page of our newspapers.

* * *

### Dr. Sockman Celebrates 20th Anniversary

Twenty years ago this week a young seminary student became the associate minister at the Madison Avenue Methodist church, of which Dr. Wallace MacMullen was then the minister. While yet a student he became the regular minister, and he has never had any other church. In 1929, following the sale of the old church property, the congregation built a $3,000,000 edifice and changed the name to Christ Church. Yesterday Dr. Sockman preached his own anniversary sermon. He has since won nation-wide recognition and, as almost every reader knows, has succeeded the late Dr. Cadman as national radio preacher over a coast to coast hookup.

* * *

### Ehrensperger to Address Church Drama Council

"Drama and Propaganda" is the subject of the feature address which Harold Ehrensperger will give at the annual meeting of the drama council at Riverside Church, on April 13, sponsored by the Federation of Churches. In keeping with its vigorous policy of promoting drama within the churches this department of the federation holds conferences, sponsors lectures and playwriting contests, and assists in the production of plays in many city churches. Mr. Ehrensperger, a product of the George Baker workshop at Yale University, is one of the outstanding leaders in the field of religious drama.

* * *

### Festival of Hymns at Riverside Church

Forty choirs, representing as many churches throughout greater New York, will unite for a "Hymn Festival" in Riverside Church on Sunday, April 18, at 4:30 P.M., under the auspices of the Hymn Society of America. It will be the first of a series of such festivals held throughout the United States this spring. Among the more recent hymns to be sung will be "Holy City, Seen of God," by Walter Russell Bowie. Frank Mason North's "Where Cross the Crowded Ways" will be sung in a descant especially written by Dr. T. Tertius Noble. It is expected that not fewer than 600 adult and 200 junior singers will participate.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER.

### Disciples Divinity House Offers Scholarships

The Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago announces that scholarships for 1937-38 will be assigned to selected men who desire to prepare for the ministry. Preference is given to young, unmarried men recently graduated from college. The scholarships yield $425 per year, which is practically sufficient to maintain a student who lives in the house. The tuition in the divinity school of the University of Chicago is $100 per quarter, which is reduced to $25 for high excellence in studies and personal attainments. Application should be made to Dean E. S. Ames.

# Statesman's Death Shock to England

### All Parties Mourn Loss of Sir Austen Chamberlain—Exploitation of Coronation Protested

*(Correspondence from England)*

LONDON, March 30.—It came as a shock to all of us when we heard that Sir Austen Chamberlain had died suddenly of heart failure. His death has brought to expression in Parliament and in the press the admiration and true affection felt for him in all p rties. He had spent a lifetime in a calling which tests character as by fire; and he had not lost his soul. Mr. Baldwin spoke with even more than his customary felicity about his old colleague, with whom he had clashed more than once. "He reverenced his conscience as his king."

It is significant that the character of the man is set in relief by his refusal to seek office or to retain it when honor forbade. He is remembered because he did not consent to be a candidate for the leadership of his party; because in loyalty to his subordinates he resigned the India office; because he would throw over Mr. Lloyd George when he, a lifelong unionist, took a leading part in the treaty which made the Irish Free State. These reveal the man even more than the Locarno Treaty.

I remember how he confessed that he had been wrong when he had resisted the proposals after the Boer War to give a constitution at once to the former enemies of Britain. One of my friends, like Sir Austen a Rugby man, wrote to him at the time to say how grateful he was to find a statesman ready to admit a mistake. Sir Austen answered cordially that he hoped he would always be ready to acknowledge any mistake in his political life. That was characteristic of the man. Whether Locarno will remain one of the pathetic failures of history or may come in the future to give a sound and enduring foundation for Western security, no one can tell. But the men who planned it will be remembered with admiration and gratitude. In a scene where it is hard not to touch pitch and be defiled, he kept his standard of integrity.

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### Free Churches Balk at Radical Pacifism

The annual meetings of the Free Church Council were held last week in Leicester. They appear to have been animated assemblies. It was in accordance with precedent that a minister of the crown came to address the council. This time it was Mr. Runciman, who is a Methodist. He made a defense of the government as being in its aims pacifist, though in its actions it had been compelled to adopt a program of rearmament. There are criticisms passed upon these visits by statesmen to church assemblies. They may be taken too hastily as involving the approval of those who courteously welcome them. Public resolutions in such councils are of singularly little value. The Free Church Council takes up much the same attitude upon the peace issue as the assemblies of the Church of England. It will not accept the thoroughgoing policy advocated by Christian pacifists. There are many who say brutally that all such religious assemblies in any outbreak of war would be sure to say: "We are against war but this war is different!"

Apart from the public resolutions, the council listened to addresses upon the word of the Lord. The chairman, Rev. James Colville, called upon the free churches to combat the newer humanism. Dr. F. W. Norwood described the missions which he had conducted throughout the country and spoke of finding people everywhere hungry for faith. Without any dissentient voices the delegates heartily welcomed the "recall to religion," which was first sounded by the archbishop in December. It should be remembered that this council is a deliberative body of much importance but without any legislative power to commit the free churches. Under its present secretary, Dr. S. Hughes, it is showing many signs of vitality.

* * *

### Resent Commercialization Of Coronation

There are many who sympathize with that distinguished author, Mr. E. M. Forster, in his protest against the "coronation nightmare." He is not in the least disposed to abandon the monarchy; on the contrary he thinks that they are no friends of the monarchy who are running the coronation to death. "The more nonsense is talked, the better all republicans will be pleased, for king-worship plays into their hands." It is not in his mind to advocate the abandonment of the coronation, but he would like it representative and quiet. "The commercial aspect of it sticks out. Attempts have been made," he adds, "to spiritualize it, but it is too cumbersome and refractory to respond. The only genuine 'recall to religion' would be an international one, a throwing away of the guns and the gold, an upward glance to the overarching sky; and none dare initiate that because of the common roundabout of fear." In solemn words Mr. Forster asks: "Why this colossal expense, when debts are unpaid, and areas destitute? Why this ponderous and fictitious gaiety when the British Empire is being carried round and round on the common whirligig of death? And which is to happen first, celebration or catastrophe?" It is not at all likely that such an article—it appears signed in the *Spectator*—will call a halt in our plans. But while there is nothing but good will and loyalty in this country for the king and queen there are many who resent the using of their coronation for commercial ends.

* * *

### Fen Country Endangered

That there is room in civil life for the best qualities shown in war we have had reason to know this week. There was and still is a desperate battle against the floods. The radio perhaps for the first time in any important action of this kind has played its part. Instructions to lonely places where outposts watch are sent by radio. Soldiers are sent to guard the dikes. Brave men toil through sleepless nights, fighting this ancient enemy. They have won so far, and the fens will be saved from anything like widespread disaster. Those who wish to know what the danger was like should read Miss Dorothy Sayers' mystery story, *The Nine Tailors*. It is not only a fine story; it contains the best description I know of the fen country and the perils by which


## HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED REVEALING HISTORY

**Dr. Macfarland Discloses It.**

Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, General Secretary Emeritus of the Federal Council, in his autobiography *Across the Years*, (Macmillan) has disclosed some deeply interesting history, hitherto known to none or few but himself.

It includes not only the early days of intense struggle in the Federal Council, but also gives the background of the constant attacks on the Council by reactionaries and patrioteers, which Robert Hastings Nichols, in a review of the book, calls "the black forces of America."

Dr. Macfarland gives us from Mrs. Macfarland's letters and documents an amazing inside story of the D. A. R. Blacklist, which would be unbelievable were it not for the sworn documents.

Perhaps the next most astonishing story is that of the tactics of Elbert H. Gary, although that is nearly equalled by those of the notorious William B. Shearer acting for the shipbuilders.

This chapter "The Price of Progress" is a story of our contemporary business and public life, involving some of the devious ways of political leaders.

There is highly informing material of a political nature, throwing much light on the motives of Wilson, Lansing, von Bernstorff, the German Chancellor, and other political leaders, with whom the author had relations not known at the time, including his wireless correspondence with von Bethmann Hollweg.

There is a story of the way in which members of the Anti-Saloon League prevented the initiation of a movement by the Federal Council for education and persuasion in behalf of Prohibition.

Chaplain Macfarland's views on the chaplaincy will be of special interest.

Later history relates to the Disarmament Conference and what Dr. Macfarland regards as the mistakes of calling Norman Davis home. Dr. Macfarland's correspondence with Hitler, which he did not publish in his previous book in Germany, gives no little light on the blunders of diplomacy.

The author's experiences with William Jennings Bryan, his service in hunting down and dispelling the scandalous attacks on Wilson, and his characterizations of Hughes, Coolidge, Hoover, Balfour, Bryce and others, based on personal experience, are highly revealing.

All this, and much more, is woven into a volume which the *London Times* says "is indispensable to any collection" dealing with recent diplomacy, which the *N. Y. Times* characterizes as "an invaluable record," and is described by the *Federal Council Bulletin* as "both a fascinating autobiographical story and an informing historical appraisal."

Prof. W. A. Harper says that the "charming" love-story with which the book closes, "will do more to build up American home life than many volumes by experts," and "Information Service" calls attention to the "many passages in which are condensed the wisdom of long experience and the essence of a ripe philosophy," and adds "the author's life has been . . . so characterized by rapid-fire activity that few have suspected the wealth of poetry that was in his heart."

Autographed copies have been secured by THE ACME BOOK SERVICE, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., and will be sent for $2.75 postpaid. To libraries $2.00 postpaid.

it is threatened. Last week the story became true.

* * *

**And So Forth**

My friend Mr. T. E. Harvey has been returned as an Independent Progressive for the group of modern universities. This is the second election of a non-party man.

There are two kinds of modernists, the Dean of St. Paul's explains, those who belong to the Catholic school of thought and those who are in the Reformed tradition. The Church of England ought to have room for both. It must not be forgotten, as he points out, that Loisy, the first and greatest of the modernists in the Roman church, began his stormy life as a controversialist by showing the difference between modernism as he, at that time a Catholic priest, interpreted it, and modernism as Harnack understood it. It is not easy to see how the two can live under one title.

The fifth army rallied round its commander, General Gough, last week. They rejoiced in the outspoken words by Mr. Lloyd George, who has said that he was misinformed about the facts when he condemned Gough. Now he calls for atonement to be made to that soldier, who was made the scapegoat in the spring of 1918.

The scale of salaries given to ministers of the crown is to be changed. The prime minister is to receive £10,000 a year and a pension on retiring, the other cabinet ministers £5,000, and the leader of the official opposition £2,000.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

# Scotland Hears German Visitors

**Representatives of German Church on Good Will Visit—"Green Pastures" Praised and Damned**

*(Correspondence from Scotland)*

WHITLEY BAY, March 12.—In the midst of all the international suspicion, fear and rearmament, it is a privilege to record a recent friendly exchange between the Christians of Germany and Great Britain. The politicians and their policies have failed. Can the church establish a contact that will lead the way out? On the invitation of Rev. E. D. Jarvis of the famous Wellington Church, Glasgow, Baron Friedrich von der Ropp, founder of the Anglo-German Brotherhood, has been paying a visit to Scotland. He brought with him his daughter and nine other young German students. Their belief is that only through religion can the many vexing problems of today find solution.

These German guests were kept very busy during their week-end in Glasgow. On Saturday evening, the baron was the principal speaker at the men's brotherhood rally in the Central Hall, and the accompanying students presented a short play, "Youth at Sea." On Sunday, the baron spoke to large congregations in three of the leading pulpits of the city, and his young men sang hymns in German. On Monday evening 400 people filled the Wellington Church Hall to see a peace play acted by the German young people aided by two Scots. The dialogue analyzed the relationships between nations, and showed that what is needed to set up harmony and confidence is a power greater than them all—God. After the play, the baron and his friends answered questions.

* * *

**Urges Britain and Germany Have Special Vocation**

Baron von der Ropp impressed at once by the fineness of his personality, his gentle and courteous bearing, and the clear sincerity of his religious convictions. He approached his subject each time from the point of view of the purposes of God for the world. He maintained that the world is still in its infancy, but that at the present stage, the British empire might be considered the backbone of the world structure, and therefore entrusted by God with something definite, some clear responsibility for the world. And similarly he held that Germany with its 82 million people, located in the very center of Europe, must for that reason have a special responsibility, too. But how, he asked tragically, could Britain and Germany get together if they distrusted each other as they did today.

* * *

**Plead for Understanding Of Germany**

He pleaded for an understanding of the new Germany. The country had lost its monarch, its constitution, everything, after the war, and had suffered a terrible decline from 1918 till 1933. "I am quite aware," he went on, "there are many things to be criticized, but we are thankful we escaped the disaster of civil war. I know the people of Britain dislike dictatorship, but we are in a different position from you." He did not believe in political alliances—they always led to distrust. The one thing Germany requires, he maintained, is the spirit of Jesus Christ—to know him, to be convinced that he is indeed the revelation of the true God. Without that Germany will develop in the wrong way and become a danger to the world. Only the Christian spirit can save Germany! He had brought the young people with him to show that Christianity was still alive and vital and potent—to demonstrate here that the religion of Christ was not the outworn, effete thing that it was so often alleged in Germany to be. Germany in her heart still admired and respected things British. Britain must help Germany to find Christ.

* * *

**Visit Makes Deep Impression**

The visit has made a profound impression among thoughtful people. "No more significant message has ever—at least in our memory—been given in this church," said Mr. Jarvis to the congregation in thanking Baron von der Ropp. And another listener commented, "One of the most Christlike men I have ever heard." May God send more such ambassadors of good will across the frontiers of the nations to undo the evil work of those who fear or grab or hate!

* * *

**'Green Pastures' Gets Mixed Reception**

"The Green Pastures" film has at last

WHY DID

**JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.**

WRITE TO JAMES A. FARLEY?

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Here is the dilemma: Business recovery must go much further; else the New Deal fails. —But if recovery *DOES* go on, it will inevitably drive up land prices, and inflate ground rents, and lead to another period of land speculation, *which will produce another economic slump.* Most "frozen paper" in banks is based on inflated land values.

Two remarkable articles by Louis Wallis, "*President Roosevelt's Dilemma*" and "*The Economic Problem*,"—both reprinted from *The Christian Century*—will be forwarded to you free by sending your name clearly written on a postal card to Dept. D

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reached Scotland. It has met with a mixed reception. The Free Church fought tooth and nail against "so glaring a burlesque of divine things." Of course these protesters had not seen the picture, but they nevertheless wrote the home secretary that they understood "the representation of the divine being is marked by circumstances of such crudeness and vulgarity as to be repugnant to any worthy conception of deity, and so to constitute an outrage to the conscience of the Christian community, with injurious effect on the public mind." When the film censor replied that their criticisms would be removed by a personal viewing of the film, their magazine returned to the attack: "We are unable to accept the view that the idea of God as a purveyor of amusement on the screen can be reconciled with the spirit of the true Christian reverence."

When the picture was shown to the dramatic critics and to the trade, it was warmly applauded. The *Glasgow Herald* commented: "The attitude of the players is deeply reverent, and any trace of blasphemy is absent. The standard of acting is remarkably high. Warner Brothers will seem to many to have made a courageous and beautiful film." The preview, to which clergymen of all denominations were invited, brought out expressions of approval from most of those present, and not least from elderly ex-moderators who might have been thought to be particularly conservative in their opinions, but Dr. Salis Daiches, the chief rabbi of Edinburgh, utterly disapproved of the film.

* * *

### Edinburgh Conference Plans Near Completion

Plans for the world conference on Christian unity, which is to meet in the Assembly Hall in Edinburgh Aug. 3-18, are proceeding apace. Nearly 400 delegates are expected, in addition to a "youth group" drawn from the ranks of students and young ministers. All the larger churches of Christendom, with the exception of the Roman Catholic, are to be represented, and it is gratifying to learn that the delegation from Germany will not be one-sided, but will represent the different schools of thought into which the German church is at present divided. The delegates include Dr. John R. Mott, Dr. Deissmann of Berlin, the Bishop of Dornakal from Southern India, and Baron de Bildt, Swedish ambassador to Egypt.

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### Americans Lecture In Scotland

American lecturers in Scotland last month include Col. Theodore Roosevelt, Prof. David S. Muzzey of Columbia University, and Prof. O. T. Allis of Princeton and Westminster seminaries.

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

### Disciples Congregation Rejects Chaplaincy Action

First Disciples Church of Washington, Pa., has adopted a resolution which puts the church on record as being opposed to the action taken by the 1936 International Convention of the denomination at Kansas City in withdrawing from the Federal Council commission on chaplains and in taking the position that representatives of churches working among men in military service should be independent of army control. John W. Love is the pastor of the church.

# China Nearing Internal Unity

**Government Speeds Pact with Communists—Opposition to Japanese Aggression Unifying Force**

*(Correspondence from China)*

SHANGHAI, March 1.—Full civil rights have been restored to Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang, though he is still under nominal supervision. So far as the government armies are concerned that seems to put *finis* to the story of the Sian revolt. Repentance on the part of the rebels and conciliation on the part of the government have been the deciding motives.

Communism, however, is still a going riddle. To remove its incitement to civil war and its threat to Kuomingtang principles was one of the major questions confronting the 200 delegates to the third plenary session of the fifth central executive committee of the Kuomingtang that convened in Nanking on Feb. 15. At its inaugural meeting Mr. Wang Ching-wei outlined the four major issues facing the delegates and China: (1) recovering territories lost and safeguarding those threatened; (2) stabilization of internal conditions; (3) promotion of people's economic reconstruction movement, and (4) inauguration of a democratic government. Communism falls under the second head.

The *China Critic* (Feb. 25) outlines the points at which the aims of the government and communists overlap. Both are agreed that the communist military forces shall be under the command of the government. They seem near agreement on the abolition of the Chinese Soviet government. That disposes of two of the minimum conditions for reconciliation put out at the meeting of the central executive committee. Where the communists stand on the other two conditions—cessation of communist propaganda and stoppage of the class struggle—is not clear. Both emphasize the welfare of the people.

* * *

### Government Promotes Cooperatives

Among other things bearing on welfare the government is interested in cooperatives, which as early as 1934 numbered 14,649 societies with 557,528 members. In 1934 the government promulgated the cooperative law. In 1935 the headquarters of the military affairs commission promulgated regulations concerning the financing of cooperatives. It is now proposed to establish a central cooperative bank, with branches all over the country, to help finance the credit organizations. But though the communists may be willing, as reported, to discontinue the confiscation of land belonging to big landlords, they hardly count the welfare of

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the people adequately cared for by the government plans. The government action along this line is, in part at least, due to the communist protest. Thus one of the remaining disagreements is as to how the welfare of the people should be safeguarded.

* * *

### Communists Favor Direct Resistance to Aggression

The outstanding issue between the government and the communists is as to what constitutes resistance to foreign aggression as now carried on. The communists, with no inconsiderable proportion of the Chinese people, favor direct action; the controlling element in the government favors moral and diplomatic resistance until direct military action becomes inevitable. Nevertheless the Chinese are building up a "united front" psychology. The communists tend to become a tolerated body of opinion in China. They are still a thorn in the mind politic of China; recent events have divested them of significance as a potential bomb in China's life. In face of a national threat the Chinese have applied the principle of compromise to this as to other issues. The central government is regaining its shaken prestige.

* * *

### Japanese Seek Closer Cooperation

Japanese preoccupation with the struggle between popular feeling in the Diet and the ambitions of the army and navy services is granting a lull in Sino-Japanese diplomatic exchanges. The statement made in the Diet that Japan has no territorial ambitions in China, coupled, however, with the declaration that Manchuria is not to be given up, does not square with the continuing economic aggression in North China. A definition of "aggression" is needed. Nevertheless two rays of promise are in evidence. Japanese industrialists and financiers are sending a delegation to China to return the visit of the Chinese economic mission to Japan in 1935. They want to sound Chinese sentiment toward Japan. Closer cooperation between leading Chinese and Japanese news agencies is also being sought. That the Japanese press may have accurate news reports on China and their readers a better understanding of the Chinese are given as motives for this move toward cooperation. There are also signs of the emergence of a somewhat more conciliatory attitude of the Japanese government toward China which though it does not promise to help China regain lost territories is nevertheless welcome.

* * *

### Leaders Make Plans For Hangchow Meeting

Christian thinking in China is turning to preparations for the meeting of the International Missionary Council scheduled to convene in Hangchow in 1938. Enlargement of cooperation will, I gather, be an outstanding challenge to that meeting. The necessity of increased cooperation among the Christian forces in China and between Christian and Chinese agencies bent on reconstruction is obvious to anyone in touch with the present situation in China. There is a measure of reciprocal cooperation between Christian education and the national government in that Christian schools are largely registered and the government is making appropriations to Christian universities. This does not involve any junction of church and state though the tendency to secularization in education places religion upon a lower level than other subjects and curtailment of academic freedom is a danger.

* * *

### Churches Move Toward Cooperation

The "new life movement" has just celebrated its third anniversary. From numerous quarters come voices urging that the Christian forces cooperate therewith. Under the leadership of Dr. E. H. Hume efforts are under way to promote cooperation between Christian medical work and local and government health programs. Some headway has been made. The church, also, is coming to the point where it will have to face the necessity of moving out of its usually isolated and detached position in its community to one of cooperation. Dr. Ralph A. Felton, head of the rural church department of Drew Theological Seminary, is spending a year at Nanking Theological Seminary, which already has a strong rural church department. Programs are being worked out, among other things, to lead the rural churches into closer cooperative relationships with their communities. That inevitably involves cooperation with Chinese as distinct from Christian agencies. This challenge to wider Christian cooperation presents difficulties, it is true, but it also opens a door of encouraging opportunity for Christian service to and with the Chinese.

* * *

### Christian College Workers Meet in Shanghai

The Council of Higher Education met in Shanghai, Feb. 3-5. All the Christian colleges were represented. It was announced that a secretary to promote Christian literature for students has been secured. He will spend seven months in the colleges and the rest of the year in connection with the Christian literature society of Shanghai. A gift from the Presbyterian China Council made this new venture possible. The associated boards are requested to provide for fellowships for training Chinese teachers of religion in the colleges. A conference of religious education workers in colleges is planned for next summer. The organization of an institute of research in religion in China is also under way.

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### New National Christian Council Secretary

The American Board has authorized the allocation of Rev. E. H. Ballou as a secretary of the National Christian Council of China. Mr. Ballou has been secretary of the North China Kung Li Hui. His period of service is expected to be two and a half years. His work will be mainly in connection with the 1938 meeting in Hangchow. Mr. Ballou recently arrived in Shanghai to take over his new duties.

FRANK RAWLINSON.

### Church Announces Prizes For Religious Plays

A playwriting contest for the best original, unpublished, one act, one set religious drama, is announced by the 7C's Class of the Country Club Christian Church of Kansas City. The first prize is $25; second prize, $15. Entries are not restricted to members of any religious denomination, and plays must not emphasize any controversial religious doctrine or creed. While Bible plays are permitted, nonbiblical material is preferred.

# Religious Fascism Stirs Roumania

**Iron Guards, a Fanatical Anti-Semitic Group, Increase in Power—Torture and Kill in God's Name**

*(Correspondence from Central Europe)*

BUCHAREST, March 1.—Roumania is the scene of an impressive, fanatical and dangerous religious movement. That is the crusade of the Iron Guards, an extreme nationalistic, anti-Semitic, fascistic organization. It is made up largely of youth, is led by an implacable, uncompromising dictator, is as unyielding as the inquisition and is moved by flaming religious passion. The zeal of the Lord has eaten the Iron Guards up. Like Moses and the early Puritans, they feel they are fighting on the side of God. They say it is God and the Iron Guards against corruption in Roumania. That gives them great power. When God is with them, who can defeat them!

This movement, like fascism and Hitlerism, originated as a protest against disorder, poor government and corruption. Roumania is an exceptionally rich country, abounding in almost every kind of natural resources. It has oil, minerals, forests and vast rich plains. Yet most of the inhabitants are poor. A few live in exceptional luxury; most in misery. Roumania is a rich land filled with poor people.

And in the little group of favored ones is a disproportionate number of foreigners. It is said foreigners own more than half of all Roumania's wealth. That seems to most Roumanians very unjust, and to make matters still worse no government and no party has yet had any success in establishing order or imposing even approximate justice. Corruption and lawlessness appear to thrive and attempts at reform are fruitless.

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### Began as Anti-Semitic And Anti-Communistic Crusade

To save the people from all this the son of a Roumanian forester, some 15 years ago, inspired largely by anti-Semitism and by hatred for communism, called the students to a crusade against wrong. His name is Cornelius Z. Codreanu. From the beginning he based his chief appeal on Christianity, God, the church and spiritual power. In many respects his young followers resembled Calvinistic mystics. They were puritanic, ascetic, intolerant, tyrannical. As is the case with all such sects, they were much more influenced by the Old Testament than by the New. Justice and not love was their ideal; cleansing, not forgiveness. For them the Holy Spirit was a sword, not a dove.

* * *

### Movement Cruel But Idealistic

Violence has always been one of their methods. In the use of coercion they are as expert and ruthless as American gangsters. The history of their movement, as written by their leader himself, is full of attacks on Jews, and on all persons tolerating Jews. They carry arms, vow secret oaths, and are always conspiring. They murder without hesitation, constantly commit acts of violence, horribly torture their opponents, and

spread terror throughout the land. They are as implacable as Samuel, as deadly as John Brown. The picked members belong to a death brigade.

Still the power of this movement is due not primarily to its cruelty but to its idealism and moral ardor. It is the most virile and sweeping spiritual force in Roumania. Its appeals are like those of the old Hebrew prophets. It demands sacrifice and extreme devotion for the good of Roumania. It advocates a general reform. It wants to "cleanse the temple," to purge public life, to exterminate corruption and corruptors and to reorganize social life on a new basis. It hopes its rod of iron will also be a rod of justice. Many things the Iron Guards fight for make one think of Elijah, Calvin, Knox and our early Puritan preachers.

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**Funeral of Two Roumanian Spanish Volunteers**

And they have recently shown their earnestness in a most dramatic manner. The bodies of two prominent members of the Iron Guards were returned from Spain. The boys had gone there to fight for what they considered right, and had both been killed in the same attack. Their funeral lasted for about a week, for the bodies were transported across the whole of Roumania.

In Bucharest itself the funeral was the most impressive demonstration the city has seen in recent years. And this, despite the fact that the organization is outlawed. Its leader marched at the head of the procession, followed by 50 stalwart comrades in their Iron Guard uniforms, behind whom came countless students, teachers, professors, priests, peasants and workers, while the boulevards were lined with kneeling people.

* * *

**They Kill in God's Name**

This gripped the imagination of the whole of Roumania. It was like a flash in a gloomy sky. It showed how very much in earnest these youth are, and what an extreme danger they represent. They are just as categorical as Joshua and think that their enemies should be wiped out. They are completely dictatorial and would abolish all old parties. They would do away with both communism and unrestrained capitalism. They would proceed as an Amos or a Micah might. They hate Jews, Masons, liberals and grafters as Nahum did Nineveh. And they do not hesitate to kill in God's name.

This is a dynamic combination of religious devotion and of brutal intolerance. Many members of this organization are willing to go to any length for their convictions. They are the only group in Roumania that will make no compromises for personal advantages.

* * *

**Destined to Play Important Role**

It is probable that they will play a very important role from now on. They may attain power as Hitler and Mussolini did. If a government attempts to suppress them, blood will flow. Even mistaken idealism and misdirected religious ardor are mighty forces. The Iron Guards may bring destruction as fanatical Jewish nationalists caused the annihilation of the Temple in Jerusalem. And again they may bring a moral regeneration as Calvin did, even though he murdered Servetus.

R. H. MARKHAM.


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# Church Hostility Perplexes Nazis

**Do Not Understand and Cannot Cope With Stubborn Opposition—England's Rearming Disturbs Germany**

*(Correspondence from Germany)*

FRANKFORT, March 11.—The outstanding incident in the struggle between the churches and the state in the Third Reich for many a long month has undoubtedly been Herr Hitler's order to Herr Hans Kerrl, minister for ecclesiastical affairs, to arrange new elections in the German Protestant Church. It is indeed a surprise; but much false optimism will be avoided by the outside world if it will remember the history of the past four years' struggle and realize clearly how future church-state relations are viewed by the nazis.

Hitler's sudden interference in the church issue was made only after the ecclesiastical committees of moderates, like Bishop Mahrarens, had failed to work out a compromise agreeable to both religious and secular authorities. Herr Kerrl, who has always been credited with a genuine desire to achieve a peaceful settlement, showed clearly in the last "ultimatum" (unpublished here, naturally) presented to the moderates that whatever his private opinions, he was absolutely controlled by the extremists in the nazi party, and that he had no intention of wavering to the side of the churches where nazi *Weltanschauung* was concerned.

* * *

### Hitler Acts to Avoid Open Break

Herr Hitler's intervention was a last minute action to avoid an open breach with the Protestant Church, and was governed less by a desire to let the churches settle their own troubles than to avoid the bad effect which such an eventuality would have on Anglo-Saxon public opinion. If there are any readers of this article who imagine that the nazis have wiped their hands of the whole affair and only wish to be rid of the "church question," they are much mistaken.

It is openly admitted by leading nazis that the coming elections will certainly be free and secret, since the divisions among the various church groups themselves are so great that there cannot possibly be anything like unity, and therefore the state will again have to interfere. But then it will be able to point to this election as a fair opportunity which the churches showed themselves unable to take up. Should there possibly come out a majority for the German Christians (who swallow nazi ideology whole), an eventuality which is inconceivable unless there is a "packing" of the election and secret police intervention, then the state will be satisfied. But under any other conditions it will certainly not allow the proper consequences to be drawn from the election.

* * *

### Protestants Have Lost Many Illusions

The position in the church-state struggle is today very much what it was before a packed synod at Wittenberg made Chaplain Ludwig Mueller reichsbishop in 1933. But with this difference. The first flush of general enthusiasm for nazi ideas has passed. The use of the secret police, of prison and concentration camp, to enforce "positive Christianity" during the intervening three-and-a-half years has removed many illusions and bared the struggle in all its nakedness to the whole of Protestantism and most of all to the faithful in this country itself.

* * *

### Church Resistance Perplexes Nazis

In view of the ease with which political and economic organizations whether of employees or employers went down before the nazi advance in 1933, it is indeed marvelous how great has been the resistance of the churches; and particularly, how it has been maintained in the face of the fact that all reports or comments are forbidden in the press, and there is little money to carry on the necessary propaganda in pamphlet and other ways. As one listens each sabbath morning to the bold way in which the gospel is preached to the congregations or hears the preachers read out fearlessly, and with telling effect, how many pastors or church workers have been forbidden to conduct religious services or are in concentration camps, one realizes that the nazis are up against a power they do not understand. It is not surprising that the spies sent to report on what has happened in the services go away with mixed feelings as to the whole matter—as the present writer knows from reliable information.

* * *

### United Church Communities Not to be Withstood

Nazis may foam at the mouth, but they are powerless to enforce their will when the whole church community is united against them. Only now is the German public learning of the fight which both Roman Catholics and the small but determined Evangelical minority in the province of Oldenburg conducted and won over the right to hang crucifixes and pictures of Martin Luther in their respective schools. The huge meeting at Loehningen, where the local nazi leader was going to "deal properly" with such people turned out to be too strong for him, and not all the threats could bring the audience from their opinion. Less than a month later an order appeared that crosses and Luther pictures were *not* to be removed.

* * *

### Youth Issue Held Fundamental

It gladdens the hearts of the faithful also when they read such "open letters" as the one recently addressed by Dr. Otto Dibelius to Minister Kerrl regarding the latter's ideas of Christianity as expounded in his speech to the ecclesiastical committee on Feb. 13. It will not do, according to Herr Kerrl, for pastors to talk of Jesus as a Jew or to say that "healing comes from the Jews." After answering this and similar assertions, Dr. Dibelius effectively continues: "In religious instruction hours, Herr Kerrl, you say that the nazi party must not be criticized and ridiculed. But what a contrast between religious instruction and party instruction lessons! Let me put this question: if in the morning [in religious instruction], the children are told that the Bible is God's Word which speaks to us in the Old and New Testaments, and in the afternoon the 'Pimps' [members of party juvenile organization] memorize 'What is our Bible? Our Bible is Hitler's *Mein Kampf*'—who must alter his teaching?"

Here is the fundamental issue simply stated and Dr. Dibelius does not hesitate to say that the present struggle will not end until the state knows its own limitations. "As soon as the state becomes a church and assumes power over the souls of men and over the preaching of the churches, then, following Luther we must resist. And we *will* resist."

* * *

### Authorities Fear Sit-Down Strike

In industry today, the greatest fear is that the "sit-down" strike idea may catch on in Germany. It is frankly admitted even by the hardest-boiled nazi that if this should happen, even they could not shoot off all the workers. Dissatisfaction in the factories continues rife. Naturally nothing of this is to be found in the press, but in consequence of these conditions a system of mouth-to-mouth information has been developed which enables much to be known in a very short time. It may not always be easy to verify the number of those arrested or all the details in a particular case, but it is not long before the workers know what has been happening in other factories in the same town or district.

A. S. EKER.

# The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

**Borderland**

(Bill Boyd, Jimmie Ellison) (Para) Hopalong Cassidy poses as "bad man" to help Rangers capture murderous head of cattle rustlers. Fine scenery, good acting, usual saloons and gun-battles, tense moments, but heavy villainy not overdone. Good as Westerns go.

For A: Hardly. For Y, C: Good of kind.

**Dangerous Number**

(Robert Young, Ann Sothern) (MGM) Crazy farce planned to be "fast and funny." Rich, breezy hero and temperamental actress of cheap antecedents do a hectic wedding, wrangle furiously through brainless adventures to supposed harmonious conclusion. Stupid role for Reginald Owen.

For A: Mediocre. For Y: Better not. For C: No.

**Espionage**

(Edmund Lowe, Madge Evans) (MGM) Pseudo-spy-thriller about hero and heroine in railroad-chase after big munitions-maker on supposed secret mission. Thrills neutralized by wisecrack, hokum, stock laughs. Hero's supposed lady-killing power still chief feature.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Perhaps. For C: No.

**King and the Chorus Girl**

(Fernand Gravet, Joan Blondell) (Warner) Clever, airy romantic comedy of whimsical nonsense. Gravet notable as irresponsible play-boy king who never sees daylight. Blondell fine as little American chorus girl who cures him. Thin sophisticated atmosphere vanishes in laughs.

For A, Y: Very good of kind. For C: Little interest.

**Marked Woman**

(B. Davis, Humphrey Bogart) (War-

ner) Grim, strong picture of sordid, sexy business of night-club "hostesses" working to enrich murderous bully, their overlord in vice. Decency thrillingly defeated throughout. Fine example of expert screening of outrageous theme.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y, C: Utterly unwholesome.

**Seventh Heaven**

(James Stewart, Simone Simon) (Fox) Notable re-creation in sound of famous silent of ten years ago, superior to it in dramatic vigor and pictorial technique if not in charm and sentimental appeal. More strength than subtlety at times. Stewart's Chico excellent.

For A: Excellent. For Y: Mature but good. For C: Beyond them.

**Spain in Flames**

(Authentic war pictures) (Amkino) Realistic, terrifying, grim, actual scenes in Spain, taken by Soviet and Spanish government cameras, portray present struggle from strongly anti-fascist standpoint. Profoundly stirring for People's Front sympathizers. Clear vocal comment adds much.

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: No. For C: No.

**Top of the Town**

(Doris Nolan, George Murphy) (Univ) Frenzied noise, jazz, dance, "music" and brainless hilarity in glorified cabaret where life is just one long hunt for laughs. Burlesque proof that "swing" beats "classical." Low salaries made possible big sets. Compare such stuff with "Maytime"!

For A: Depends on taste. For Y: Doubtful value. For C: No.

**Best Recent Films for Family:**

We Have Our Moments
Great O'Malley
Mighty Treve
Breezing Home
Maytime
Quality Street

**Best Films for Adults:**

The Good Earth
We're on the Jury
Family Affair
Lost Horizon
Man Who Could Work Miracles
History is Made at Night

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Woodrow Wilsons, by Eleanor Wilson McAdoo. Macmillan, $3.50.

Die Welt im Fortschritt, by Heinrich Frick and others. F. A. Herbig Verlagsbuchandlung, Berlin.

The Castle of Contentment, Letters from a Jutland Farm, by Jaegermester Plov. Translated from the Danish. Willett, Clark & Co., $2.00.

The Fight for Character and other Chapel Talks, by John W. Dunning. Revell, $1.50.

The Second Seventy, by Lyman P. Powell. Macrae-Smith Co., Philadelphia, $1.50.

Riders of the Rio Grande, by Glenn Balch. Crowell, $2.00.

By Day and By Night, by Johan Bojar. Appleton-Century, $2.50.

When Half-Gods Go, A Sketch of the Emergence of Religions, by Charles Lemuel Dibble. Morehouse, $1.75.

Beyond the Badlands, by Stephen Payne. Hopkins, $2.00.

Soul Winning, A Handbook on Personal Evangelism, by Silas D. Daugherty. John C. Winston, $1.00.

The Story of a Fortunate Youth, by Jean Kenyon Mackenzie. Revell, $1.00.

Philosophy Studies Religion, by David Lee Jamison. Revell, $1.50.

Church Group Avtivities for Young Married People, by George Gleason. Author, 715 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, $1.00.

The Philosophy of Religion, by Emil Brunner. Scribners, $2.25.

The Beginnings of the Christian Church, by Hans Lietzmann. Translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. Scribners, $4.00.

The Recovery of Ideals, by Georgia Harkness. Scribners, $2.00.

Middletown in Transition, A Study in Cultural Transition, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd. Harcourt, $5.00.

Canada, by André Siegfried. Harcourt, $3.00.


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